SOMNATH

THE

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BY

K. M. MUNSHI

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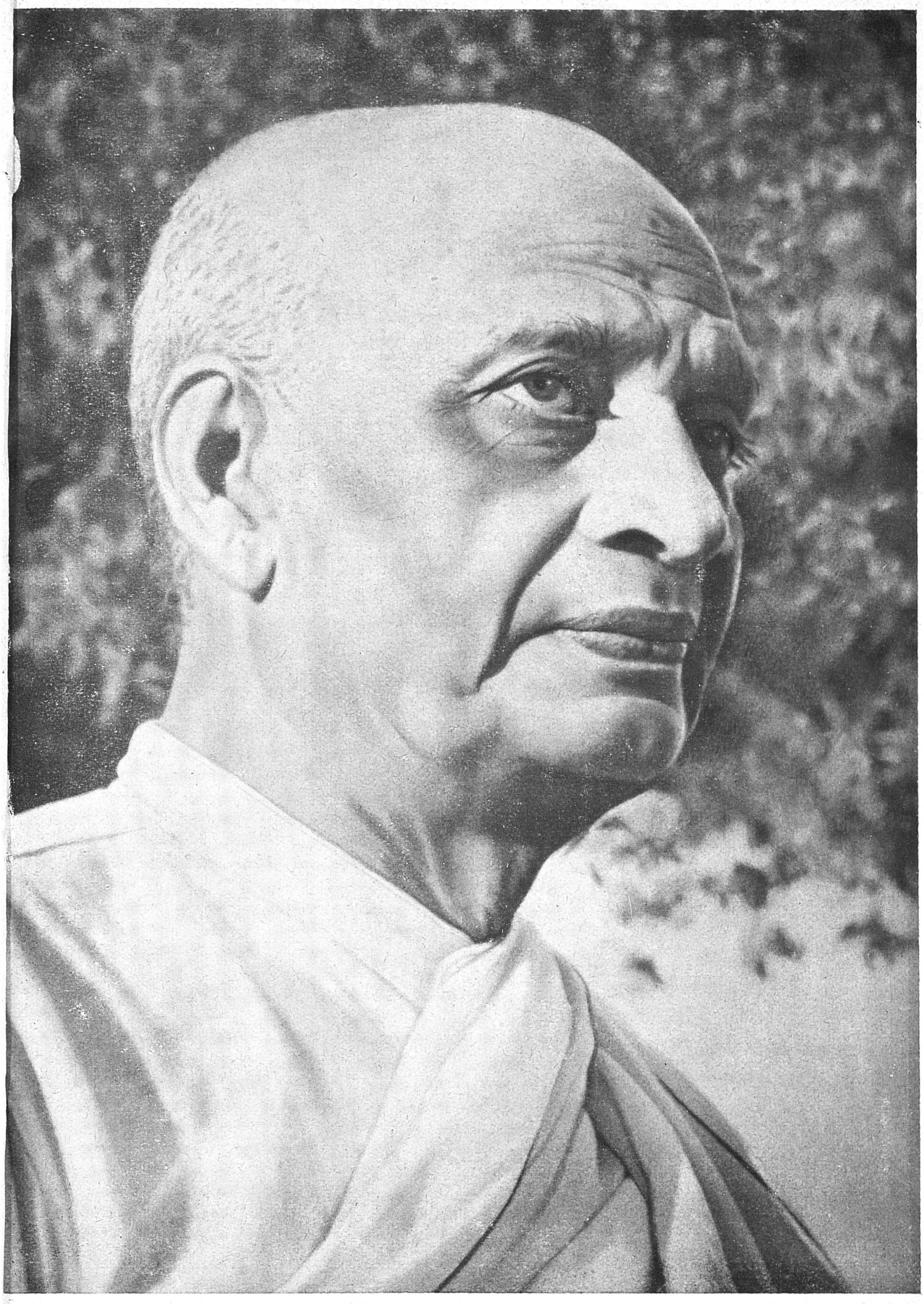

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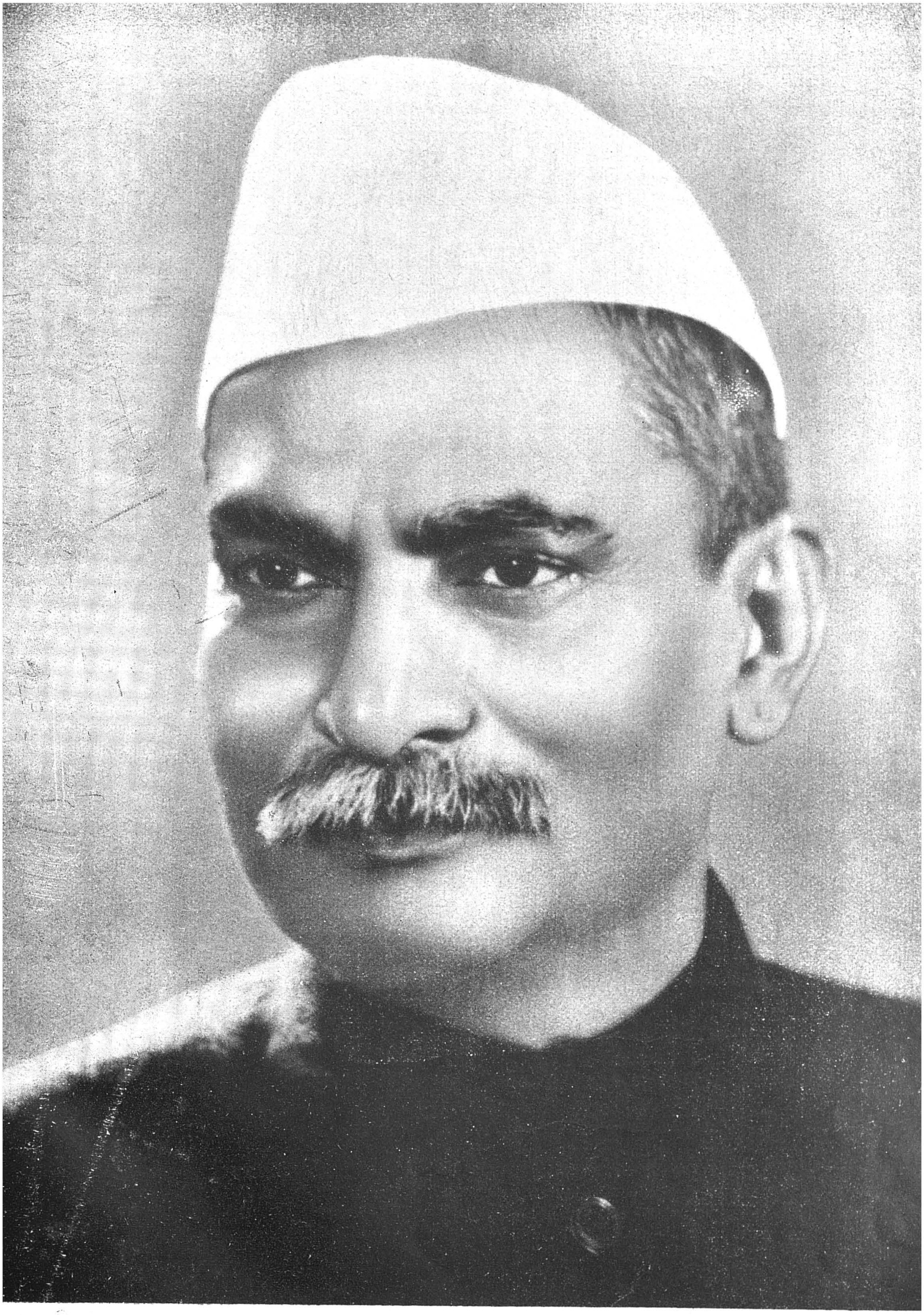

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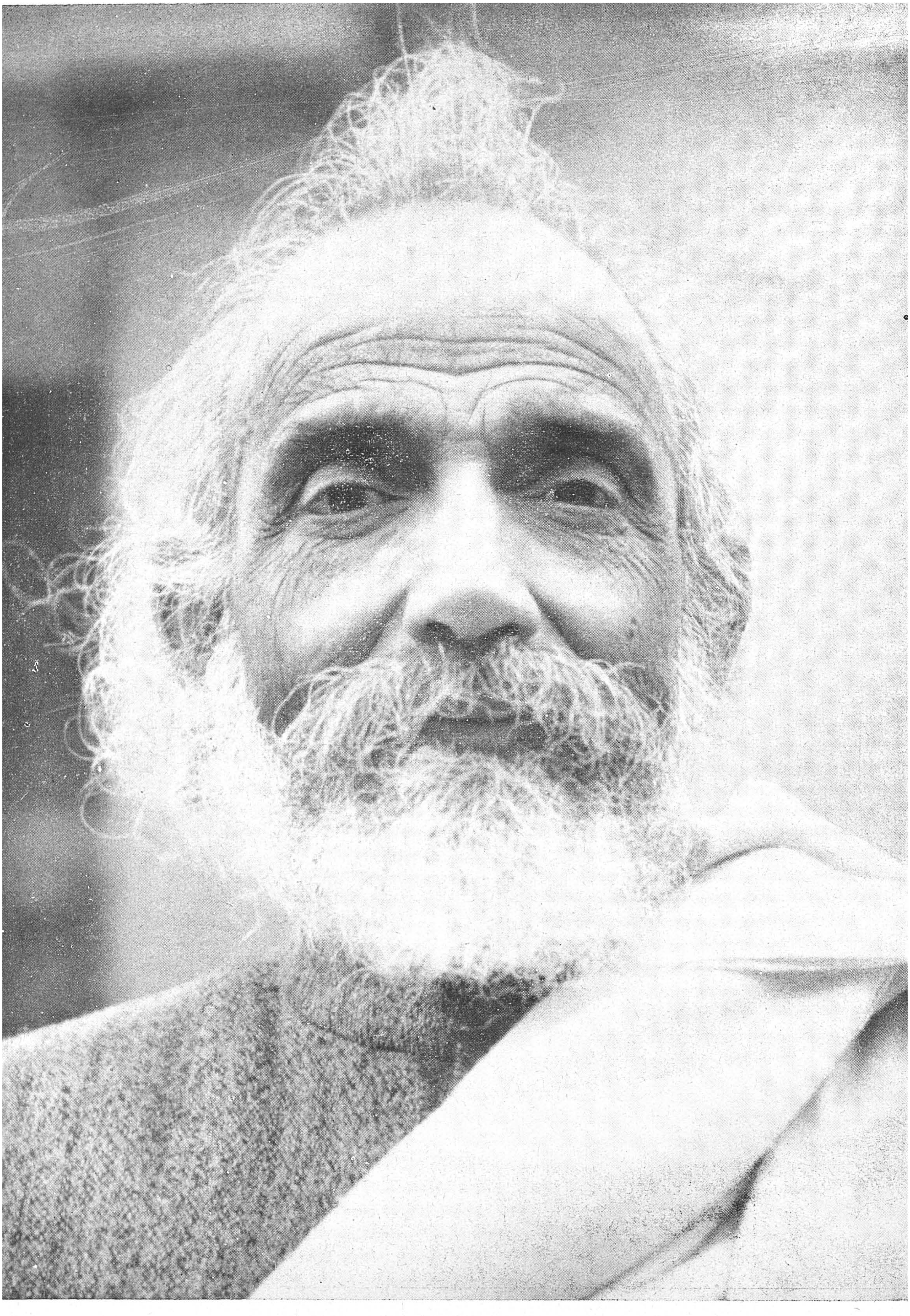

Purushottamdas Tandon, who inaugurates the Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, one of the items of the Somanātha celebrations

PREFACE

On the occasion of the installation of Somanātha, I decided to collect whatever I knew or had done in connection with Somanātha. I am no scholar. The book has been written in great hurry under the stress of pressing preoccupations of a varied nature. I hope, therefore, the reader will overlook all shortcomings. Some day a scholar will examine the subject and rewrite the story in a more systematic manner.

To me, however, the satisfaction is of something done at the proper time. The ruins of Kumārapāla's Temple—what I have called the Fifth Temple—are no more. The underground secrets of the Temple are sealed up by the plinth of the present temple, but before its construction I had excavations conducted by Shri B. K. Thapar of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India who undertook the work with rare conscientiousness and unbounded enthusiasm. The results obtained have been out of all proportions to the amount of work put in. His report on the excavations forms indeed a valuable chapter of the book—Part III. I am indebted to him for the help he gave me. Grateful acknowledgement is also due to Shri S. K. Joglekar, the Town Planner of the Government of India, for assistance in the line drawings.

There are many myths connected with this temple. But in the course of my study, its history, as disclosed by the excavations, was before me and I have tried to present my conclusions in Part II—"Romance in Stone". I hope it will prove useful to the students of history.

New Delhi,
April 25, 1951.

K. M. Munshi

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAR	:	*Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān by Col. Todd.*
ACC	:	*Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum.*
AI	:	*Alberūni's India, edited by Sachau.*
ARB	:	*Archaeological Remains of Bombay Presidency.*
ASI	:	*Archaeological Survey of India.*
BG	:	*Bombay Gazetteer.*
BPSI	:	*Bhāvnagar Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*
BRW	:	*Buddhist Records of the Western World by Beal.*
CHI	:	*Cambridge History of India.*
DV	:	*Dvyāśraya of Hemachandra Sūri.*
DHNI	:	*Dynastic History of Northern India.*
EC	:	*Epigraphia Carnataka.*
EI	:	*Epigraphia Indica.*
ELLIOT	:	*History of India as told by its own Historians.*
ERE	:	*Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics.*
HR	:	*History of Rājputāna.*
GL	:	*Gujrat and its Literature by K. M. Munshi.*
IA	:	*Indian Antiquary.*
JASB	:	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JAOS	:	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JBBRAS	:	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JRAS	:	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).*
KC	:	*Kumārapāla-Charita by Chāritryasundaragaṇi.*
KK	:	*Kīrti-Kaumudī by Someśvara.*
KP	:	*Kumārapāla-Pratibodha by Jinamaṇḍana Gaṇi.*
KY	:	*Kitab-i-Yamīnī of 'Utbi translated by Renolds.*
KZA	:	*Kitab-Zain ul-Akhbār of Abu Sa'il 'Abd-ul-Hay b. ad-Dahhāk b. Muhammad Gardizi edited by Mahmud Nazim.*
Mbh	:	*Mahābhārata.*
NC	:	*Navasāhasāṅka-Charita by Padmagupta.*
PC	:	*Merutuṅga's Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi.*
PCa	:	*Prabhāvaka-Charita.*
RT	:	*Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī Edited by Stein.*
TA	:	*Tahaqat-i-Akbari, Bibliotheca Indica, translated by B. Dey.*
TF	:	*Tarikh-i-Farishta edited by Briggs.*

PART I

THE STORY OF SOMANĀTHA

CHAPTER I

SOMANATHA — LORD OF THE MOON GOD

(Pls. I and II)

The shrine of Somanātha is situated in Prabhāsa Pāṭan or as it is sometimes called Devapaṭṭaṇa on the southern coast of Saurāshṭra (pl. 1).

Saurāshṭra formed part of the vast Indo-African-Australian continent[1] known as the Gondwana land long before the Himālayas rose. Gujarāt and Saurāshṭra had a long proto-historic past[2] when they had contacts with Sindh and other north-western areas by land and sea. Pre-historic man had his settlements in Saurāshṭra on the banks of rivers.[3]

India became a geographical unit; new races began to pour in. The portion of Saurāshṭra, the valleys of the North-West Frontier Province, Sindh, the Punjāb, the upper Doāb, if not the whole of the Gangetic valley, and the habitable parts of Rājputānā, came to be inhabited by a race with a uniform culture. It is called by scholars the Indus Valley civilization. It may more appropriately be called Proto-Indian culture.

Somanātha is the shrine of God Śiva, popularly styled Mahādeva—the Great God. He was worshipped five thousand years ago in the Indus Valley, not in the form of a phallus but as Paśupati, the lord of the animal world. On a seal found at Mohenjo-daro, He is depicted as a nude deity, with horns and three faces. He is carved as seated on a stool with His heels pressed closely together in yogic pose. Surrounding Him are a number of animals—two deer or antelopes, a rhinoceros, an elephant, a tiger and a buffalo. The humped bull—Nandī—too, was a sacred animal.[4]

It is likely that Śiva, as depicted on the seal, may have had four faces, one of which was invisible; but images with three faces are common to several parts of India. It is likely that Trimukha Śiva of 3000 B.C. suggested the subsequent evolution of the Trinity of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, and the *Śiva Purāṇa,* when it places Śiva as the first of the gods, has possibly a historical basis to support the tradition.

The shrine of Somanātha in Prabhāsa is traditionally as old as the creation; it is possibly pre-historic. The Māhishmatī of Vedic times

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1 K. M. Munshi, *The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa,* Vol. I. p. 7.
2 Ibid., Vol. I. p. 13.
3 Ibid., Vol. I. p. 15.
4 Mackay, *Indus Civilisation,* p. 70.

which was near Broach on the Narmadā may have been another centre of some ancient Pāśupata cult; for Sahasrārjuna, its ambitious ruler of traditional history, got his prowess from Paśupati; and Paraśurāma, his vanquisher, also secured his irresistible weapon from the same deity.

The original name of Saurāshṭra was Kuśavrata. The place where the Yādavas founded Dwārakā was originally called Kuśasthalī.[1] The Phoenicians also called themselves the sons of Kuśa.[2] An old legend connects Dwārakā with Puṇyajanas which may conceivably be a variant of Paṇi[3] or 'Paṇik' of the Vedas or the Phoinix or the Phoinikes of the Greeks, known in history as Phoenicians. Long before their settlement in Greece, the Phoenicians were mariners. Their original home was on the Erythraean Sea which is identified with the Persian Gulf or the Arabian Sea. These Pretero Phoenicians, the sons of Kuśa, can therefore be taken to have made an early settlement at Kuśasthalī.

The first name of the peninsula was Suraṭha after Kuśavrata, Saurāshṭra being a Sanskritised form like Mahārāshṭra and Rāshṭrakūṭa. The original name Raṭha or 'Redda' is likely to have a close connection with the word 'shur-rudd' of the Assyrians and may indicate the Rathiks of the Aśokan inscription. The name survives in the Reddis of Telangana and the Rathods of the North. We can, therefore, assume that in very early times, the shores of Saurāshṭra were studded with places where maritime races lived or came to trade and Prabhāsa, as an ancient port, was a centre of international contact.

CHAPTER II

PRABHĀSA IN HISTORICAL TRADITION

Prabhāsa was a traditionally sacred place even in the days of Dharma, the son of Pāṇḍu. The *Mahābhārata* refers to it again and again.[4] It was very well known to the people and was situated at a holy spot where the river Sarasvatī flowed into the sea. It was also connected with Soma, the moon-god. Daksha had twenty-seven daughters, corresponding to twenty-seven constellations, all married to Soma. Rohiṇī, however, was the most beautiful of them all and Soma continued to live with her. His other wives naturally complained

1 *Hari* I. 11. 4.

2 Waddell, *Makers of Civilization*, p. 80.

3 Max Müller—*Chips from a German Workshop*, ii, 65.

4 *Mbh.* 1.218.2-4, 8; 3.12.15; 82.58; 88.20; 93.10; 118.15; 9.35.41; 78-86; 13.25.9; 94.3; 14.83.13.

to Daksha, who somehow induced him to reconcile with them. But Soma's fascination for Rohiṇī was irresistible; he went back to Rohiṇī. The other wives once more approached Daksha, who now threatened to curse him. His threats however, were not heeded. The neglected wives again complained to their father. Daksha thereupon cursed him, saying, 'thou shalt wane.'

As a result Soma, the moon-god, began to shrink day by day. He performed sacrifices; but they were of no avail. He continued to wane; the herbs became tasteless; vegetation failed to grow. Ultimately the gods prevailed upon Daksha to retract his curse. He did it on certain conditions. Soma should behave equally with all his wives and take a bath in the sea at the Prabhāsa Tīrtha where the river Sarasvatī joins it and worship Mahādeva there; if he did so, he would, during one half of the month, wane every day, but during the other half, wax every day. Daksha finally told Soma not to disregard women and the Brāhmaṇas.[1] Since then, Prabhāsa has been the foremost of all Tīrthas. Soma—so runs the legend—bathes there on every recurring day of the dark night and regains his form and beauty.

On the West Coast, Prabhāsa was the most sacred of all places in the days of the Bhārata war. Even the *Rishis*—the sages—collected there.[2] It was the favoured spot of two gods: Indra and Sūrya.[3] It had the quality of removing all sins; a sea-bath at Prabhāsa led one to heaven. The Pāṇḍavas came to this sacred spot and performed austerities. So did Śrī Kṛishṇa and Balarāma; Arjuna also came here from Gokarṇa on his way to Dwārakā.[4] Janamejaya Pārikshita, the emperor, also visited it.[5] Long before Śrī Kṛishṇa led the Yādavas to Saurāshṭra, Prabhāsa was recognised as a sacred place, attracting pilgrims from all over the country.

The sacredness of the place, even then, was derived from the fact that Soma saved himself from Daksha's curse by bathing there and praying to Śiva at the shrine there. The sanctity of the deity at Prabhāsa, therefore, was accepted even at that time.

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1 *Index to the names in the Mahābhārata* p. 553 by S. Sörensen.
2 *Mbh.* 3. 91-10; *Mbh.* 3. 91-10; Mbh. 13. 94. 3.
3 *Mbh.* 3. 130 7
4 *Mbh.* 14. 83. 14 Bom. Ed; *Mbh.* 3. 118. 15.
5 *Mbh.* 12. 152. 12.

CHAPTER III

DEHOTSARGA — THE HALLOWED SPOT

(Pls. III and IV)

Saurāshṭra was the adopted habitat of Śrī Kṛishṇa, acclaimed for centuries as 'God Himself'; and it can be said with certainty that no greater or richer integrated personality, reaching out to divine perfection, has been known to life or fiction, and that no higher message was given to man than in His exhortation to Arjuna in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Many places in Saurāshṭra are reminiscent of Him. He killed the tyrant Kaṁsa of Mathurā and reinstated Ugrasena on the throne. When Jarāsandha, the powerful ruler, invaded Mathurā, He led His people Yādavas to safety in Dwārakā in Saurāshṭra. Then He kidnapped and married Rukmiṇī. He makes His appearance in the *Mahābhārata* for the first time at the *svayaṁvara* of Draupadī, and thereafter dominates the scene throughout. He gave presents to the Pāṇḍavas at their marriage with Draupadī, and saw that they were settled at Indraprastha.

In the course of his pilgrimage, Arjuna visited Prabhāsa. Śrī Kṛishṇa came to see him and took him to Dwārakā. On His advice, Arjuna carried off His sister Subhadrā and married her.

Śrī Kṛishṇa then assisted Bhīma, the second of the Pāṇḍava brothers, in slaying Jarāsandha, thus qualifying them for the imperial sceptre. At the *rājasūya yajña* celebrated by the Pāṇḍavas to proclaim their newly acquired imperial status, He washed the feet of the Brāhmaṇas and received the first worship—*agrapūjā*—as the only person fit for the honour. This shows that even during His life, He had come to be treated as a divinity.

After the successful performance of Yudhishṭhira's *rājasūya* sacrifice, Śrī Kṛishṇa returned to Dwārakā. During the exile of the Pāṇḍavas, He visited them thrice in the forests and attended the marriage of Abhimanyu, the son of His sister Subhadrā and Arjuna, with Uttarā, the daughter of the king of Virāṭa.

The preparations for the war between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas commenced. Śrī Kṛishṇa's help was solicited by both sides. When given a choice between Himself and the Yādava army, Śrī Kṛishṇa was selected by Arjuna as against Duryodhana who preferred the Yādava army. He himself went as an envoy of the Pāṇḍavas to Hastināpura, the land of

the Kauravas, seeking peace and justice. When the great battle of Kurukshetra began, Śrī Kṛishṇa did not fight personally; He remained the guide, philosopher and the supreme strategist of the battle. He inspired Arjuna to fight and asked him to be His instrument in destroying the sinners. Incidentally on the field of battle, He delivered the message of eternal life—the *Gītā*.

After installing Yudhishṭhira on the throne at Hastināpura, Śrī Kṛishṇa returned to Dwārakā. He came again to Hastināpura to attend the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice performed by Yudhishṭhira. He returned to Dwārakā and lived happily for the rest of His life. When the Yādavas went to Prabhāsa for a holiday, they drank wine freely and indulged in a bitter internecine fight. As a result thereof, the entire Yādava race was destroyed; only Śrī Kṛishṇa, His brother Balarāma and two others, Dāruka and Babhru, survived.

Śrī Kṛishṇa then sent His charioteer, Dāruka, to Hastināpura with the news and a message to Arjuna to come to Dwārakā to look after the women and children of the tribe. He then consoled the forlorn women and children; they were to accompany Arjuna to Hastināpura, as He foresaw that Dwārakā would be swallowed up by the sea. Having consoled them, He left Dwārakā and retired to a dense forest.

Arjuna came to Dwārakā, took with him Vajra, the only surviving grandson of Śrī Kṛishṇa and successor to the throne of Mathurā and left for Hastināpura with the grief-stricken women of the tribe.

When in deep meditation, Śrī Kṛishṇa was hit by the arrow of a hunter, who mistook Him for a deer. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* are silent as to the location of the spot where Śrī Kṛishṇa was struck by the hunter, though He appears to have left His body in Prabhāsa. Bhālaka-tīrtha, at a short distance from the Somanātha temple, is traditionally the scene of Kṛishṇa's death (pl. III). From here His body was taken to the confluence of the Hiraṇyā, Sarasvati and Kapilā—eastern Triveṇī—at Somanātha, where it was ceremonially cremated. This *Dehotsarga*, the spot where the mortal remains of Śrī Kṛishṇa were cremated is the most hallowed spot in India (pl. IV).

The *Mahābhārata* is definite that the Yādavas, Andhakas and Vṛishṇis destroyed each other at Prabhāsa, and Śrī Kṛishṇa and Balarāma died there. There is no dispute as to the location of Prabhāsa, for it was situated on the coast where river Sarasvatī joins the sea. The *Paurāṇic* references also indicate that Prabhāsa, Raivataka Mountains and Śrī

Kṛishṇa's capital Dwārakā were near each other. Raivataka is the modern Gir Hill range, which runs along the southern coast of Kāthiāwār. Various theories have been propounded about the identification of these places. I have, after some analysis, come to the conclusion that the old Dwārakā, which was near Prabhāsa, was submerged in the sea. When Śrī Kṛishṇa engrossed the attention of the country in the fourteenth century, there was a search for Dwārakā and the place now known as Dwārakā in the north-western corner of Saurāshṭra was fixed upon as Śrī Kṛishṇa's Dwārakā. There is no doubt whatever that modern Dwārakā has nothing to do with Śrī Kṛishṇa's Dwārakā which was very near the Gir hills and Prabhāsa.

There is an interesting speculation which deserves careful notice. Bāṇāsura, the father of the bride of Śri Kṛishṇa's grandson, had something to do with Assyria; Śonitapura, his capital, has the same meaning as 'Babylon', 'the City of Blood'. This is not a mere accident; Pañchajanyāsura, from whom Śrī Kṛishṇa saved the son of His teacher Sāndīpani who had been dragged into the sea at Prabhāsa, might have been an Assyrian trader who had kidnapped the boy. If there is any factual basis in this legend, it shows that sea power, both naval and mercantile, was directed from Prabhāsa from the most ancient times. Prabhāsa, therefore, was an ancient port. Long before the Bhārata war, it was recognised as a holy place of all-India importance. As already stated, it was associated with Soma, the moon-god. There was a shrine of Śiva, where the devout worshipped after bathing in the Tīrtha located on the spot where the Sarasvatī joined the sea. Śrī Kṛishṇa was associated with Prabhāsa where His kinsmen died fighting, and where, on the banks of the Hiraṇyā, His last remains were cremated. Later tradition also attributed to Him a temple of Somanātha built in silver.[1]

CHAPTER IV

ŚIVA — GUARDIAN OF NATIONAL RESURGENCE

(A.D. 1-400)

There is an ancient tradition, not to be discarded even on geological grounds that the low-lying land between the mainland and Saurāshṭra was once covered by the sea in which the Vedic Sarasvatī emptied her waters.

It is equally worth noting that the *Purāṇas* refer to Nāgas living in *Pātāla*.[2] *Pātāla*, later considered to be the nether regions, is associated

1 K. M. Munshi—*Glory that was Gurjaradeśa,* Pt. I p. 111.
2 Bhajam—*Vide* references Gujrat 'Somnath' pp. 15 and 17.

with Sindh, North Gujarāt, Saurāshṭra and Cambay. The *Paurāṇic* legend refers to the river Sarasvatī having brought *Vaḍavānala, Aurvānala* or *Kālāgni*, submarine fire, to be merged in the sea near Prabhāsa. There are also references to *Pātāla* as the land of the Nāgas, as also the place where Vaḍavānala found a haven on earth. This sheath *(Vivara)* was, according to the *Skanda Purāṇa,* located in Prabhāsa. Balī, the king of Asuras (a term also applied to the Nāgas) who performed the ten *Aśvamedhas* (horse-sacrifices), was forced to withdraw into *Pātāla,* where he thereafter ruled. Somanātha is also referred to as the *Kālāgni* form of Śiva. The famous *Liṅga* of Śiva, known as Hāṭakeśvara in Saurāshṭra also came from *Pātāla.* One of the names of Śiva is also *Vāḍavamukha.* It can, therefore, be concluded that Śiva, as the Lord of Destruction, was, at one time, identified with the God of Fire in Prabhāsa, a tradition clearly indicative of some geological action. In Prabhāsa, Śiva was fire. The *tīrtha* where the Sarasvatī met the sea in Prabhāsa was once called *Agnitīrtha.* Mahīshmat, the father of Sahasrārjuna of the paurāṇic tradition wrested an ancient port near Broach on the Narmadā from the Nāgas in order to found Māhīshmatī.

Two facts emerge from these references. First, the Nāgas were associated with the region from the mouth of the river Indus to the mouth of the Narmadā and perhaps further south. Secondly, Prabhāsa was associated with the Nāgas referred to as belonging to *Pātāla.* Thirdly, the *Liṅga* of Somanātha, before the earliest period of Aryan tradition, was a divinity connected with Pātāla and the Nāgas. With the dawn of history, the Śiva-worshipping Nāgas emerged as a confederacy of powerful tribes.

When the Śuṅga empire was broken, the Scythians, the Bactrian Greeks and the Kushāṇas entered India and had imposed the bondage of slavery on the people. They were 'irascible, contemptible and irreligious'; then arose the great Nāga power to fight the foreigners. Linking up the hiatus in the imperial tradition between the Śuṅga emperors of the pre-Christian era and the Gupta emperors of the fourth century of Christ, the Nāgas included the Bhāraśivas and Vākāṭakas, who practically dominated the North, and the Satavāhanas who dominated the South. The Empire of the Bhāraśivas included Bihar, United Provinces, Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bhārat, Rājasthān and the Mudra Republics in East Punjab.[1] In the middle of the third century, the Vākāṭakas rose to power, of whom Pravarasena was recognised as the Emperor of Āryāvarta.

1 K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 55.

The rise of the Bhārasivas represented a national upsurge to deliver the country from the foreign rule of the Śakas and the Kushāṇas. Of this resurgence, God Śiva was the symbol and the guardian. "We find Śiva everywhere in this period", says Jayaswal. "The era is surchaged with the belief that the Destroyer Himself has founded the Bhāraśiva State, that He is the guarantor of the king, of the people and of the Bhāraśiva kingdom."[1] The Nāgas were styled by the *Paurāṇic* traditions as serpents. Takshaka and Karkoṭaka from whom one can protect oneself by invoking Śiva, their Lord and Master, were in fact the names of Nāga rulers.

The Nāgas performed ten *aśvamedhas* at Kāśī and Bhṛgukachchha on the Narmadā. Śiva and Nandī were added as honorific titles by kings and emperors to their names. Their images were carved on official seals as the emblem of Varṇāśrama Dharma.[2]

The tremendous political events led to a cultural renaissance of which Śiva was the pivotal centre. Gaṅgā was the emblem of purity. The sacredness of the bull and the cow was accepted as a national creed.[3] The great literary movement in favour of Sanskrit began in this period and was carried forward by the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas. Sanskrit became the language, not only of religion but also of refinement and courts.[4] As Dr. Jayaswal puts it, the foundations of modern Hinduism were laid by the Nāga emperors and its edifice was built and elaborated by the Guptas. The Nāga Empire included Gujarat and evidently the existence of the First Temple in this period shows that Prabhāsa was a place sacred to Śiva.

CHAPTER V

ŚIVA AND HIS WORSHIP

The worship of Śiva and His consort Śakti dates from pre-historic times and is today the basic layer of religious belief in India. It has varying strata from the most terrific or obscene rituals, confined to fast decaying obscure cults, to aspiring philosophic concepts, noble traditions of universal welfare and the most human of social urges.

The earliest Śaiva literature was associated not only with Yoga but also with magic and incantations. Prabhāsa was the centre of the great

1 K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 49.
2 *Ibid*., p. 73.
3 *Ibid*., p. 61.
4 *Ibid*., p. 95.

Śaivayogis, and some of the great sages referred to in the *Puraṇas* were masters of their sacred lore, *Somavidyā.* From the earliest days of *Tāntric* literature of Śaivism, Soma is found closely associated with Śiva, even to the extent of being referred to as one of the names of Śiva. According to *Somavidyā,* the completely moonless night in the month, if it falls on a Monday which is sacred to Śiva, is considered most appropriate for worshipping Him and any religious act done on that day is believed to give manifold merit. *Skandapurāṇa* details the five things which give the highest religious merit: 'Sarasvatī, the river, the sea, the eclipsed moon, and the *darśana* of God Somanātha.' "To visit Prabhāsa on a moonless night, which falls on a Monday, to undertake a fast, to bathe where the Sarasvatī meets the sea, and to have a *darśana* of Somanātha" gives the merit of numberless religious sacrifices.

One of the intriguing verses, of later date of course, in the *Ṛgveda* refers to the place where the Gaṅgā, Yamunā and the ancient Sarasvatī met, presided over by Someśvara. Āl-Bīrunī refers to a *Somapurāṇa* which has not been traced so far.

All these facts are only set out to show that Śiva, Somanātha, Śiva worship, *Somavidyā* and the order of *Śaivayogis* point to the worship of Śiva having its origin in the pre-historic period; its relics can still be found in the rituals of a repulsive character, which some obscure deviations of the cult followed in far-away places. The sect of *aghoris,* for instance, live in funeral grounds and besmear themselves with ashes following Śiva in His aspect of Bhairava. They follow the tradition of long forgotten tribes to whom Śiva, wearing the garlands of skulls and the ornaments of serpents and with His body besmeared with ashes, was the tutelary deity. Even today, among the Śaivites of the purest hue, there is the traditional ritual of the application of ashes to the forehead and the hands.

Śiva's spouse Umā, Pārvatī or Śakti, known to all early human civilizations as the Mother Goddess, is the goddess who protects, blesses and saves. Though in His one aspect as *Ardhanārīśvara,* half god, half woman, Śiva is considered indissoluble from His spouse, the *yogis* who worshipped them both, true to human nature, separated the worship into cults of entirely different character. The *Śaivayogis* were adepts in *haṭhayoga* which is the art of completely controlling the body, including all its vital activities. One of the higest stages for a *haṭhayogi* is called *ūrdhvaretas,* which, among other things, includes a mastery over the muscles and nerves of the sexual organ, in order to eliminate sex desire

and attain extraordinary longevity. This mastery is indicated in the icon of Paśupati of the Mohenjo-daro period, and in the eleventh century image of Lakulīśa of the Fourth Temple of Somanātha.

Another ancient cult, no doubt, is the sex worship of the goddess of fertility. Śiva's spouse is worshipped not only as Pārvatī or Ambā, the Divine Mother, as Śakti, the Goddess of power and strength, as Chaṇḍī the fearsome goddess destroying the wicked but also as Amarasundarī of immortal beauty, the goddess of sublimation from whom flows all creativeness. One of the cults of the last named goddess has its counterpart in the mysteries of ancient Rome and Greece.

Śiva is inseparable from Gaṅgā which, flowing from His matted locks, represents purity and gives India its belt of plenty and high intellectual aspirations; from His consort Umā, the benign Mother, from His son Kārtīkeya, the god of war, worshipped by the Gupta emperors, and worshipped to-day in the south as Subrahmaṇya; from the highly lovable Gaṇapati, the elephant-headed god of auspiciousness, intellect, wealth and valour, to-day the presiding deity of every home where purity and happiness reigns; from Nandī, the beloved father of the bovine race, which, from time immemorial, is linked with Indians in every aspect of life and unites them in religious fervour with the animal world and secures them economic stability.

If the Aryan gods dominated the Indian thought, the pre-Aryan Śiva was at its head, the Iśāna as the later Vedic literature of the *Brāhmaṇas* would have it, or the Mahādeva, the Great God, as the *Purāṇas* proclaim Him to be. And from Kailāsa in the Himālayas where Śiva has His abode and from the twelve eternal shrines of *Jyotirliṅgas*—of which Somanātha is the foremost—to the most obscure village temples resides the Great God; not only the God of the great and the learned but the Guardian of the lowliest of the devout, whose temple doors are never closed to any one, however fallen.

The conception of Śiva and Pārvatī in Indian culture is inspiring. The noblest conception of the spiritual unity of man and wife ever-living and eternal, achieved by a joint sublimation of the sex instinct is immortalised in Pārvatī-Parameśvara, to quote Kālīdāsa, as 'indissoluble as word and sense' or the *Ardhanārīśvara* of the Śaivite literature. No higher example of the aspiration which Śiva worship provides is afforded than by the hymn of self-realization, *Nirvāṇaśataka,* composed by Śaṅkarāchārya, the greatest of Indian philosophers and religious reformers.

I am not the mind nor the intellect,
Nor am I the Self nor the cognising power;
Neither am I the ear, the tongue, the nose, the eyes;
The sky is not I, nor the land,
Neither light nor wind am I;
For, I am Bliss-Consciousness,
Śiva is in me and I am Śiva.

I am not made of breath, or of the five-fold moving wind,
Nor of the seven biles, nor of the five sheaths;
Speech is not me, nor hands nor feet am I;
For I am Bliss-Consciousness,
Śiva is in me, and I am Śiva.

I know no hatred, nor love;
I covet not, nor does illusion shroud my eyes;
I have no pride, nor the touch of anger;
I belong neither to Dharma nor to wealth;
Neither to desire, nor to freedom;
I am Bliss-Consciousness,
Śiva is in me, and I am Śiva.

Transcended have I—both merit and demerit,
Even chants or sacred places, Vedas or the sacrifices, have me not;
And happiness and misery;
Nor I am the oblation,
Neither the enjoyed nor the enjoyer,
Bliss-Consciousness I am,
Śiva is in me, and I am Śiva.

Death has no dread for me,
Neither doubts ever shake my calm;
Distinctions that part man from man, I know not.
I have no father, no mother even,
No brother, friend, teacher or pupil,
Nor have I another birth;
Thoughts agitate me not; forms no longer fetter me;
I am the lord of all my senses.
All attachment have I shed, and emancipation lures me not,
For Bliss-Consciousness am I,
I am Śiva, Śiva is in me.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST AND THE SECOND TEMPLES

(Fig. 1)

Another parallel tradition connects Prabhāsa with the Pāśupata cult as a very important and ancient branch of Śiva worship. That the temple of Somanātha was the all-India centre of the Pāśupata cult during historical times is indisputable. Lakulīśa was the last of the great Pāśupata teachers born in the second century of the Christian era at Kārohaṇa (modern Karvan) near Broach on the Narmadā. He was considered an incarnation of god Śiva Himself. In the Fourth Temple his image, *ūrdhvaretas* like that of the Mohenjo-daro Pāśupata has been found carved along the southern plinth. All the heads of the shrine during the Chālukya period were Āchāryas of the cult. Soma Śarma was the last great teacher before Lakulīśā who came to Prabhāsa and settled down there, and was also considered an incarnation of god Śiva. His four sons are also mentioned as having settled down at Prabhāsa Tīrtha. This tradition is also preserved in the *Śivapurāṇa* and may be taken to be authentic.[1] Long before the second century A.D., the head of the Pāśupata cult had his headquarters at Prabhāsa. Somanātha as the principal shrine of Śiva can therefore be taken to have been established at least by the beginning of the Christian era to which period the First Temple belongs. Religious literature of Śaivism is reminiscent of the early importance of Somanātha. The Kārle and the Nāsik inscriptions show that the Scythian conqueror Nahapāṇa worshipped at Prabhāsa Tīrtha.[2]

The First Temple may be placed about the beginning of the Christian era. Some of the Bactrian Greek Kshatrapas and the Bhāraśiva and Vākāṭaka rulers were devotees of Śiva. It is, however, surprising that there is no epigraphic record of Prabhāsa or Somanātha during the Gupta period (A.D. 320-500). Saurāshṭra was almost a forbidden land for law-abiding Indians of the Madhyadeśa, and with the Gupta emperors who were all devoted to Vishṇu, this shrine was, perhaps, under an eclipse. About A.D. 470 Saurāshṭra, with its capital Valabhī, drifted away from the Gupta Empire to become an independent kingdom under Senāpati Bhaṭārka of the Maitraka family.

The kingdom of Valabhī came to include the district of Kaira and part of Mālwā on the mainland by A.D. 722. The Valabhī kings were

1 *Śivapurāṇa*—Saptamavāyavīyasaṁhitā—Uttarabhāga: adh. 7. 5.
Ibid., Chaturthakoṭi-rudra saṁhitā—Vs. 21-24. *Vāyupurāṇa*—Mitra's Ed. Vol. I. adh. 23, 201-02.

2 *EI.* VII. p. 57; *EI.* VIII. p. 78.

very powerful and some of them were devout worshippers of Śiva. But Śilāditya I leaned towards Buddhism. Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya, the son-in-law of Emperor Śrī Harsha, ruled over modern Northern Gujarāt. A few years later in A.D. 649 part of Southern Gujarāt, comprising the territory then known as Bhṛigukachchha, formed part of the territory of Dharasena IV (A.D. 640-49) who, for some time, bore the imperial title derived from his grandfather Śrī Harsha. It was at this time that the Second Temple was constructed and to this period must also be ascribed the defaced Brāhmī inscription found in the temple excavations.

The *garbhagṛiha* of the Second Temple was constructed on the spot where the First Temple stood. It had possibly an open *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. Terraced steps of Kanjur stone led from it to the sea on both sides and on the south was constructed a retaining sea-wall (fig. 1). These were all found imbedded in the earth. Prabhāsa also was noted for its Temple of the Sun.

Yuan Chwāng, the great Chinese pilgrim, visited Saurāshṭra between A.D. 641-644. The land and the customs of the people, the pilgrim found to be the same as on the mainland. Population was dense. Religious institutions flourished. The capital Valabhī was then the home of power, learning and commerce; the people were happy and prosperous; and the merchants carried intensive commercial activity.

More than a hundred merchants in the city were worth over a lakh each; rare and valuable articles secured from distant places were amassed by these rich men.[1] The courts of Valabhī kings abounded in learned men who aimed at literary efforts after the fashion of Bāṇa and Daṇḍin.

Yuan Chwāng was, however, not interested in Hindu shrines; his only interest was in Buddhist monasteries. Under Dharasena IV (A.D. 640-649) Valabhī was still a magnificent city. Daṇḍin, who wrote during his times has given a fine description of the city and its merchant prince Gṛhagupta, who was the owner of many sea-faring vessels.[2] Prabhāsa was an international port during the whole of this period.

About the beginning of the eighth century, however, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi were overrunning the mainland and Valabhī was losing its hold on old possessions. In A.D. 722 Valabhī lost the district of Kheṭaka Maṇḍala to Jayabhaṭa III, the feudatory of Chālukya Maṅgalarāja, then ruling at Navasāri in modern South Gujarāt.[3]

1 *BRW*. II. 266-268 also, *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Pt. III. pp. 28-29.
2 Daṇḍin—*Daśakumāracharita* (NS, 1936) p. 225.
3 *BG. I.* PT. I. p. 523.

About the same time the Arabs turned their attention to India. In A.D. 711 Hajjāj, the Arab general, sent his son-in-law Muḥammad-ibn-Qāsim to fight Dāhira, the Brāhmaṇa king of Sindh.[1]

Soon after Caliph Hishām (A.D. 724-43) appointed Junayad as governor of Sindh. Junayad in A.D. 725 sent Arab armies to invade Mārwār, Broach, Ujjain, Mālwā and Gurjaradeśa. On their onward march, they defeated the king of Saurāshṭra and the king of Valabhī. Valabhī was then destroyed.[2] *Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi* refers to Kārpaṭika going on a pilgrimage to Someśvara about the time of the destruction of Valabhī. Was the Second Temple destroyed at this time? Or was it replaced on account of age?

CHAPTER VII

THE THIRD TEMPLE

(A.D. 800)

The years A.D. 725-26 were fateful for India. In A.D. 726 Junayad was succeeded by Tamīm as the governor of Sindh. Under his direction, an Arab army tried to enter the Deccan between A.D. 731 and A.D. 738.[3] It was, however, defeated by the Chālukya prince Pulakeśī Avanijanāśraya at Navasari. The Arab army, which had entered Saurāshṭra, penetrated upto Ujjain but was flung back by Nāgabhaṭa, the first king of the later Pratihāra line. Nāgabhaṭa came from Gūrjara or Gūrjaradeśa; that area is now partly included in Jaipur and partly in Mewar; and that is how Nāgabhaṭa's successors came to be styled Gūrjareśvaras.

The *Gwalior Praśasti* announces Nāgabhaṭa's victory in the following manner:

> He crushed the mighty hosts of the *mlechchhas*.
> Those foes of godly deeds.
> With terror-striking weapons as he stood.
> He looked like
> Him of the four-arms.[4]

Nāgabhaṭa I founded the Gūrjara power which held imperial sway at Kanauj for well-nigh hundred and fifty years. About A.D. 780 his

1 *CHI*. III. 2.
2 *BG* I. Pt. I. 109 n2 also, *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa* Pt. III, p. 50; A.I. I. 192-93.
3 *Elliot*, I. 442.
4 *Gwalior Praśasti* of Mihira Bhoja (verse 4).

grandson Vatsarāja ruled at Jhalor while Varāha or Jayavarāha ruled over the kingdom of Sauryas, which may perhaps be identified with Saurāshṭra.

About A.D. 792 Nāgabhaṭa II, son of Vatsarāja, came to the throne of Gūrjaradeśa, then growing from strength to strength. His popular name was 'Āma'. His mother, Sundarīdevī, was a princess of the family of Yaśovarman, who is described as belonging to the Maurya family. He is described as the Primeval Man born again, as once he was born as Nāgabhaṭa I,[1] for he restored the fortunes of Gūrjaradeśa which had fallen low at the time of his accession.

Immediately on coming to the throne, Nāgabhaṭa II, proceeded to conquer the 'kings of Sindhu', possibly the Saindhava kings of Saurāshṭra. In A.D. 806-7, the indomitable cavalry of Saurāshṭra under Chālukya Bāhukadhavala, supporting Nāgabhaṭa's army, defeated the army of Karṇātaka. In the wars of his overlord, he also fought against the Pāla kings of Bengal.

Bāhukadhavala's father, whose name cannot be deciphered in the inscription, was a feudatory Chālukya ruler of Saurāshṭra. His grandfather was Kalla. Kalla, therefore, may be accepted as the founder of the Chālukya dynasty in Saurāshṭra in the middle of the eighth century immediately after the destruction of Valabhī. If this surmise is correct, Kalla would be a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa I.

By A.D. 815 Nāgabhaṭa II emerged as the unquestionable master of North India and made Kanauj his capital.[2] He is stated to have visited Prabhāsa to worship Someśvara, travelling by way of Raivataka, Piṇḍatāraka, Śaṅkhoddhāra and Dwārakā.[3] The shrine of Somanātha thus enjoyed great importance in about the first quarter of the eighth century. The red stone Third Temple (fig. 1), a large structure for the age, cannot be placed much later than A.D. 800 and may be taken to have been constructed during this period.

After a short intervening reign of Rāmabhadra, brother of Nāgabhaṭa, his son Mihira Bhoja the Great (A.D. 835-886), one of the most powerful rulers in Indian history, succeeded to the empire of Kanauj. Chālukya Bāhukadhavala continued to rule Saurāshṭra. His son and successor,

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1 *Gwalior Praśasti* of Mihira Bhoja (verse 8).
2 *HR.* I. 181.
3 *Prabhāvakacharita* p. 108, st. 704-708.

Bālavarman, was the feudatory of Mihira Bhoja as also his son, Mahendrapāla, (A.D. 890-910) and is recorded as achieving great victories. He defeated a certain Vishāḍha, slew Jajjapa and other kings and "thus freed the earth from the Hūṇa race." He also beat back the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces on behalf of his overlord.

Mihira Bhoja also came to Saurāshṭra, possibly to quell a rebellion, and on his way defeated and killed Jayaśekhara of the Chāpa (Chāpotkaṭa, Chāvḍā) family ruling at Panchāsara in modern North Gujarāt. This evidently gave rise to the Jain legend about Vanarāja, Jayaśekhara's son.

According to the legend, Jayaśekhara, before his death, sent away his wife Rūpasundarī in the charge of his brother Sūrapāla, who turned out to be an outlaw. In the forest the queen was delivered of a son. He was named Vanarāja. Bhūyaḍa, identified with Mihira Bhoja, grew fond of Gujarāt but was induced to return to his capital under pressure from his generals.[1]

There is a close similarity between the Jain version and the Brāhmanical version as to how Vanarāja acquired power. The Jain version is: that a king of Kānyakubja married the daughter of a king of Gujarāt. Vanarāja was appointed to collect from Gujarāt the marriage cess which the king had given to his daughter by way of dowry. He collected the cess and gave the collections to a deputation from Kānyakubja; then he waylaid them and secured the money which he used for consolidating his power. The Brahmanical version says that when the boy grew up, he organised a band of bandits and when the revenue collectors of Bhūbhaṭa, the king of Kanauj, were proceeding to Kanauj with the collections, he fell upon them and robbed them of the treasure.

The king of Kanauj and Bhūbhata both refer to emperor Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj. Vanarāja is stated by the *Prabandhas* to have founded Aṇahilavāḍa after a shepherd of the name of Aṇahila, who had pointed out a spot where a hare had chased a dog, a familiar legend about the foundation of many cities. Merutuṅga gives A.D. 746 as the date of Vanarāja's installation, while A.D. 765 (V. S. 821 Vaiśākha Śukla 2) is given in *Vichāraśreṇī* as the date of the foundation of the city. Vanarāja is stated to have lived for one hundred and nine years.

The dates, given in the legends, relating to the Chāvḍās must, therefore, in the light of available evidence, be left as irreconcilable. The date A.D. 700, for the fall of Pañchāsara is obviously wrong. In A.D. 700, Kanauj was ruled by Yaśovarman, the patron of poets Bhavabhūti and

1 *SJG*. 12.

Vākpati; Āma and Mihira Bhoja lived long after him. The *Prabandhas* are not unanimous about the parentage of Vanarāja. The *Purātana-prabandha-saṁgraha* makes him the son of Chamuṇḍa.[1] The *Prabhāvaka-charita* is silent on this point. The life of 109 years given by the Prabandhas to Vanarāja is legendary. The story that Vanarāja founded Aṇahilavāda is disproved by another legend given by Jinaprabha in the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa.* According to it, the city was built on the site of a town known as Lākhārāma, which is stated to have been founded in A.D. 446.[2] The earliest reference to the Chālukyas having seized the royalty from the Chāvḍās is found in the Vadnagar *praśasti* of A.D. 1152, when legends of the foundation of Pāṭaṇa had been crystallised and had begun to be accepted as facts. Vanarāja is, for the first time, referred to in A.D. 1116 in a colophon of an *Apabhraṁśa* work named *Neminātha-chariā* by Haribhadrasūri, who completed his work in the residence provided by Pṛthvīpāla, a minister of Kumārapāla.[3]

Both the versions agree on some important particulars. Bhūbhaṭa or Bhūyaḍa, identified as Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj, was the overlord of Saurāshṭra. It is likely that he had given his daughter in marriage to the ruler of Saurāshṭra, possibly Bālavarman or his son. An inchoate legend preserved in *Skanda Purāṇa* also points to Mihira Bhoja having married a daughter of Saurāshṭra. *Skanda Purāṇa* has a whole section of *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa* giving a detailed description of Somanātha and other shrines of Prabhāsa and the traditions connected with them. Somanātha was then the biggest shrine in the country, and looking to the contacts of the imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj with Saurāshṭra it would not be unreasonable to infer that under the Pratihāras, Prabhāsa became a holy city, as important as, if not more than, Kāśī.

In A.D. 899 Chālukya Avanivarman II[4] called Yoga, the son and successor of Bālavarman, ruled Saurāshṭra as a feudatory of emperor Mahendrapāla, though under the direction of the military commander of the Emperor. That a daughter of Mihira Bhoja or his immediate descendant was married to one of the Chālukya descendants of Bāhukadhavala, is supported by another testimony.

A persistent tradition claims that Rājī, the father of Mūlarāja who founded the Chālukya rule at Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭan in A.D. 942, came from

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1 *SJG.* 51.

2 *Sanatkumāra charitam:* a section from Haribhadra's Nemiṇāha-Chariu edited by Hermann Jacobi, 152.

3 *EI.* IX. 2.

4 *The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa,* Pt. III. p. 69.

Devapaṭṭana or Prabhāsa; probably, therefore, he was a descendant of Bāhukadhavala. On his mother's side he drew his descent from Mihira Bhoja. He was descended from illustrious families, 'like the two wings of the swan' says the inscription.[1] This would also explain Mūlarāja's interest in Somanātha.

About A.D. 920, Rājī married Līlādevī, the sister of a Gūrjareśvara. The Jain tradition, making the ruler of Gujarāt a descendant of Vanarāja of Aṇahilavāḍa, is incorrect. Aṇahilavāḍa then was not in any territory known as Gūrjaradeśa and Gūrjareśvara was the title of the Pratihāra Emperor Mahendrapāla of Kanauj. Līlādevi was more likely the sister of Mahendrapāla, the Gūrjareśvara. This would explain how Mūlarāja, after the break-up of the Pratihāra Empire of Kanauj in A.D. 940, called himself by the title of his maternal ancestor, Gūrjareśvara.

The Chālukya branch of Saurāshṭra ruled from A.D. 750 to 950. Prabhāsa was a great port. Somanātha naturally was their guardian deity.

During the time of the Chālukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa, the first available epigraphic evidence of Somanātha is found as of A.D. 960, referring to Ananta Deva, the Northern Śilahāra who came with an army to worship Somanātha at Prabhāsa.[2]

Somanātha, enshrined in the Third Temple, was between A.D. 800 and 950 the most important shrine in the land, patronised by the Pratihāra emperors and their feudatories of Saurāshṭra. Its magnificence in the beginning of the eleventh century, therefore, sprang from its association with the Gūrjareśvaras of Kanauj (725-950) and the great empire which they had built up.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GUARDIAN GOD OF GUJARĀT

In A.D. 942, Mūlarāja, the son of Rājī and Līlādevī, driven from his ancestral kingdom, captured Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa and acquired Sārasvatamaṇḍala, a small principality in the valley of the Sarasvatī.[3] Hemachandra describes him as the architect of Gujarāt.

On the collapse of the Chālukyas of Saurāshṭra, Grāharipu, the Ābhīra King, had assumed power. He was a wicked ruler. Mūlarāja is reported by Hemachandra to have said:

1 *EI.* XIX. 236f.
2 *IA.* IX. 34.
3 *The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa,* Pt. III. p. 108.

"Grāharipu is unjust. He harasses the pilgrims and kills the Brāhmaṇas. How can I make friends with such a wicked man? No one can even move freely in Saurāshṭra. He has destroyed the sacred Prabhāsa. He has raided peaceful towns. The son of a *mlechchha* woman, he has been hunting deer on the Girnar. Go and tell him to come out and fight me."[1]

Evidently this was an attempt to wrest back his ancestral kingdom from the usurper.

Mūlarāja marches on Grāharipu and captures him. His ally Laksharāja of Kachchha, however, is killed in battle.[2] Mūlarāja then proceeds to Prabhāsa, worships Somanātha and returns to Aṇahilavāḍa. Evidently Mūlarāja restored his ancestral shrine to its pristine glory.

Mūlarāja died in A.D. 997, having ruled for 55 years. He was a devout worshipper of Śiva, and it is clear from the epigraphic evidence that he constructed several temples of Śiva including the famous Rudramahālaya at Siddhapur.[3] The temple of Somanātha which he retrieved from Grāharipu was the Third temple.

Mūlarāja's successors were: Chāmuṇḍa (A.D. 996-1000), his sons Vallabharāja (six months) and Durlabharāja (A.D. 1009-1022). The kingdom of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa then did not extend beyond the Sārasvata and Satyapura Maṇḍalas, a small area round Aṇahilavāḍa. Sīyaka II of the Paramāra line who had vanquished Yoga, and his son Muñja (A.D. 940 to A.D. 997) were great conquerors and ruled the mainland of Gujarāt. Muñja was succeeded by his brother Sindhurāja[4] who appears to have been the overlord of Aṇahilavāḍa rulers, though the latter carried on a precarious independence in their little principality. In A.D. 999 or at any rate about A.D. 1010, Bhoja, the son of Sindhurāja, one of the most magnificent rulers in history, came to the throne.[5]

Bhoja soon proved himself to be a great military leader. In addition to the hereditary Kshatriya forces, he organised a standing army. He realised the dangers in which he stood and decided to make a heroic effort to revive the strength of Gūrjaradeśa. He made friends with Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya (A.D. 1010-1042), the Kalachuri king of Tripurī. Probably with his aid, he repelled the invasion of Indraratha of the Kesarī dynasty, the powerful king of Yayātinagara or Ādinagara in Orissa.[6] It was

1 *DV*. IV 20ff.
2 Ibid 103, 105, 127. *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, p. 49.
3 *Rāsamālā* (Gujarati trs. 3rd Ed.) 61-68.
4 *NC*. XI. 98.
5 *Pāiyalachchhī*, edited by Bühler, Intro. 9.
6 Udaipur Praśasti (*EI*, I, 233-238 St. 19). Ādinagara may be modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam district in the province of Madras.

Bhoja's first combat with a powerful king; and the young hero inflicted a defeat on Indraratha. He also defeated king Goggala, an unidentified king, unless it be Goggirāja of Lāṭa; but he had possibly died long before that time.

Having rendered his eastern frontier safe, he entered into an alliance with Rājendra Parakesarī, the emperor of the South. Strengthened by this great diplomatic triumph, he invaded the dominions of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. First, he marched to the west to suppress the revolt of Kīrtirāja, the Chālukya feudatory of Lāṭa, who on Muñja's death, had chosen to ally himself with his old chief. The rebel was vanquished; Lāṭa was subdued.[1] Bhoja then marched on Aparājita or Ari Kesarī, the Śilāhāra king of Koṅkaṇa, the most formidable feudatory of the Western Chālukya Jayasiṁha II. The Śilāhāra king was supported by his suzerain, but the confederate forces of Bhoja, Rājendra Chola and Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya were too powerful for Jayasiṁha. In one campaign, Jayasiṁha appears to have worsted Bhoja; for it is stated in one of the Chālukyan inscriptions that Bhoja became 'a lotus to the moon', which was Jayasiṁha. "He searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to fight the confederated forces of Mālava".[2] The campaign, however, ended in favour of the powerful confederacy. The final battle with Jayasiṁha II was fought in Koṅkaṇa. The king of Koṅkaṇa became a vassal of Bhoja and a part of the Chālukya dominions including the Nasik district was annexed to the empire of Bhoja. The 'illustrious' Yaśovarman, a feudatory, was placed in charge of Selluka Nagara near Kalyāṇī.

By A.D. 1019, Bhoja had performed prodigies of valour and statesmanship. He had overcome the strongest foe in the East; attached the ambitious young Gāṅgeya to himself; had established a firm alliance with the Chola emperor of the South; vanquished Jayasiṁha II, the Chālukya of Kalyāṇi; and annexed a large part of his territory. The conquest of Koṅkaṇa was, therefore, a great event and was celebrated as such throughout Bhoja's empire every year. The Banswara grant recites that at the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa, Bhojadeva, having worshipped Bhavānīpati, made the grant of the village of Vaṭapadraka, the modern village of Baroda, in the Banswara State. Another grant of a village near Indore in Central India also records the same festival. In A.D. 1019, therefore, Bhoja was the unquestioned master of an empire,

1 Udaipur Praśasti *EI*, XIX, 71f; *IA*, XII, 204.
2 *IA*, V, 17.

which included modern Gujarat. It is inconceivable that such a conqueror and so devoted a worshipper of Śiva, who built several temples of the god over the country, was not attracted by the most important Śaivite shrine in India.

CHAPTER IX

A DESTROYER RISES

When the power of Gūrjaradeśa and Karṇāṭaka had been broken around A.D. 940 and the extreme south had begun to build a great empire, the north-west frontier was practically undefended except for the Brāhmaṇa Śāhī kings of Kābūl. The empire of the Caliphs had been broken up in the ninth century, and among the soldiers of fortune who carved out kingdoms for themselves were the Samanaid princes. Alp-tigin (A.D. 933-963), a slave of one of the Samanaid rulers, forced his master to recognise him as an independent chieftain and established himself at Ghazni. From his mountain fortress, he began to spread terror in India. After him, his general, Sabuk-tigin, came to the throne in A.D. 977. He continued his master's policy and made a determined effort to destroy the confederacy of Indian kings which Jayapāla of the Punjab led in defence of his motherland.

When Sabuk-tigin died in A.D. 997, his son, Abu-i-Qasim Maḥmūd, born in A.D. 971, was only the governor of Khorāsān. Even at the early age of fifteen, he had surprised the veteran warriors of his father's court by his ability. But Sabuk-tign on his death-bed, had nominated Maḥmūd's younger brother Ismail as his successor. A war of succession followed. Maḥmūd soon captured Ghazni and sent his brother into exile and by his personality, will and genius, soon built up a marvellous striking power. Victory crowned his campaigns. Within three years of his capturing Ghazni, he had subjugated Central Asia, Iran, Sistan and the adjoining regions.

In the year A.D. 1000, he turned his attention to India and gave it a fore-taste of total war which she did not know before. Unlike India, in Central Asia wars were fought for destruction and not for mere acknowledgement of the conqueror's suzerainty—*digvijaya*. There were no laws, nor morals to circumscribe the barbarities of war; and Northern India, wrapped in the security which the Imperial Gurjaras had provided, saw with startled awe, torrents of barbarians sweeping everything before them, intent on murder, rape and loot.

The story of India's resistance to Maḥmūd's insatiable ambition is an epic of undying heroism. Jayapāla, the Śāhi king, once of Afghānistān, had sent a stern message to Maḥmūd's father. "You have heard, and now know the heroism of the Indians. In difficulties, we fear neither death nor destruction. In affairs of honour and renown, we would woo the fire like roast meat, the dagger like the rays of the sun."[1]

The story of internal feuds in India is a myth. In A.D. 900, the rulers of Delhi and Ajmer, Vijayapāla of Kanauj (A.D. 955-990) and Dhaṅga, the Chandella, sent men and money to help Jayapāla.[2] But the battle was lost, and Jayapāla had to give up the dominions west of the Indus. Eleven years later, in A.D. 1001, Maḥmūd again invaded Jayapāla's dominions, defeated him, and extracted tribute. Jayapāla had the proud soul of a hero. There were no chains which he did not know how to break. He gave up his crown, gave the legacy of resistance to his son, and courted the flames of the funeral pyre.

His son Ānandapāla did not pay tribute and Maḥmūd marched against him in A.D. 1004. Heroic Jayapāla's equally heroic son first parleyed, and then refused submission. In the words of Utbi, "he placed the hand of repulse upon the face of the Sultan's request and took the road to stubbornness and obstinacy."[3] Ānandapāla's land was plundered and pillaged. He had to fly to Kāshmir. His son was taken prisoner.

Soon Maḥmūd was between two fires, the Turks under Ilak Khan, who had crossed the Oxus in Central Asia, and the Śāhis. Then the generous culture of Āryāvarta impelled Ānandapāla to send a foolish message to his ruthless foe offering assistance: "I have been conquered by you, but I do not wish that another one should conquer you."[4] The tragedy of it was that Maḥmūd took the assistance, defeated Ilak Khan, and with his victorious army turned on the generous Śāhi in A.D. 1008. The conquest of India is the conquest of culture by those who lacked it. Ānandapāla faced his enemy with a powerful army, but in a heroic battle, he lost ground. The Punjab lay at the feet of Maḥmūd.

In A.D. 1009, he plundered the temple of Nagarkot. In A.D. 1011, he desecrated the shrine of Chakrasvāmin at Thaneśvar. Ānandapāla, however, was still a rallying centre of resistance from Lahore. In A.D. 1012 he died, and was succeeded by his son Trilochanapāla. Maḥmūd,

1 *KY*. 37; *The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, III, pp. 132-41.
2 *TF*. I. 18.
3 *IA*. II. 13, 14.
4 *KY*. 327-28.

in spite of a treaty with his father, attacked him. Trilochanapāla fought with unflinching heroism.

> "Trilochanapāla causing floods of blood to pour in battle resembled Śiva *(trilochana)* when sending forth the fire which burns the world at the end of the *Kalpa*.
>
> After fighting crores of armour-clad soldiers in the battle, this (prince), who was experienced in affairs, came forth singly from among the foes pressing (around him).
>
> When Trilochana(pāla) had gone afar, the whole country was over-shadowed by hosts of fierce *chāṇḍālas,* which (resembled clouds of) locusts."[1]

He failed. The Śāhi power was shattered to smithereens. For eight long years, from some obscure place, with the immortal faith of those to whom death brings no defeat, Trilochanapāla harassed Maḥmūd.

> "The Hammīra did not breathe freely, thinking of the superhuman powers of the mysterious Trilochanapāla."[2]

It had taken over fifteen years for the ruthless Ghaznavite father and son to wipe the Śāhi power out of existence. And thus did Al-Birūni, the contemporary, sing their elegy :

> "The Hindu Śāhīya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."[3]

In A.D. 1018, the Punjab having been annexed to his dominions in part, Maḥmūd crossed the Yamunā and attacked the kingdom of Kanauj. Haradatta, a feudatory, submitted; and another, Kulachandra, when all his 50,000 warriors lay dead, killed his wife and himself with the same dagger. Mathurā was plundered. When the foreign army reached Kanauj, Rājyapāla, its king, was defeated, and fled. Kanauj was sacked and the descendant of the imperial Gurjaras became a vassal of the ruler of Ghazni.

But against this imbecile travesty of imperial greatness rose a confederacy led by Vidyādhara Chandella (A.D. 1019-1022), the grandson

1 *RT*. Stein's English translation I. 272-73.
2 *RT*. VII. 64-65.
3 *AI*. II. 13.

of Dhaṅga, the most powerful king of the North. Vidyādhara killed Rājyapāla, the puppet of the foreign ruler, and consolidated the forces. Even Bhoja looked upon this king as his master in the art of war. "Bhojadeva, together with Kalachuri Chandra, worshipped this master of warfare, full of fear, like pupils."[1]

In A.D. 1019, Maḥmūd marched to the Gangetic plains to give battle to Vidyādhara. There was an inconclusive engagement and Maḥmūd withdrew plundering all along his retreat. In A.D. 1022 he again marched on Kālañjara. Nandā, otherwise read as Bida or Vidyādhara, "then sent some verses which he had composed in the Hindu tongue in praise of the Sultān. The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets who were in attendance on him. They all praised them. The Sultān sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of 15 fortresses and other presents in return for them. Nandā also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultān."[2] The panegyrical accounts by Muslim chroniclers admit the fact that after a long investment Maḥmūd could not capture Kālañjara, and the campaign ended with mutual gifts and compliments. The roaring tiger became a purring friend of Vidyādhara. Maḥmūd returned and gave up his ambitions as regards the Gangetic Valley.[3]

Maḥmūd's invasions upto A.D. 1022 were really three wars. The first was directed against the Śāhis. It lasted for about eighteen years and ended in the annexation of most of the Punjab. The second was directed against Kanauj, which was only a pyrrhic victory. The third was against Vidyādhara Chandella and Maḥmūd gained nothing out of it. Vidyādhara had succeeded where the heroic Śāhis had failed. Later Muslim chroniclers have altered the aspects of these frustrated attempts into successful religious wars against the holy shrines of India. Frustrated in the East, the ambitious Sultān turned to the South.

CHAPTER X

DESTRUCTION OF THE THIRD TEMPLE

In A.D. 1022, Bhīma, the son of Nāgarāja (the brother of Durlabharāja) by the queen Lakshmīdevī (the daughter of the Chāhamāna of Naḍḍūla), came to the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa. Nāgarāja was the grandson of Mūlarāja whose guardian deity was Somanātha.

1 *EI*. I. 219-222. Vs. 22.
2 *TA*. 14, *KZA*, 79-80.
3 *IA*. 1908, 142.

Maḥmūd's raid on Somanātha was a spectacular venture even if some of the details furnished by the Muslim chroniclers are accepted.[1] On the morning of Monday, October 18, 1025, Maḥmūd left Ghazni at the head of an army, which consisted of 30,000 regular cavalry. Elaborate preparations were made for food and water. 30,000 camels carried the supply of water; in addition, each trooper was provided with two camels for carrying water for him. The invader rested at Multan, left it on November 26, and began his march through the desert. From Multān to Abu extends one vast, drab and dreary waste of sandy tract. Across this desert, fiery as Gehenna itself, with destruction yawning at every step, marched this reckless host, jubilant with the hopes of the coming loot. Its master, untiring and fierce as the wind which inexorably blew over these untrodden wilds of nature, goaded it on to the ends of his ambition.

According to the *Qaṣīda,* Maḥmūd first captured the Ludrava Pass close to the Chiklodara Mātā hill near Pālanpur.[2] By the end of December, he reached Pāṭaṇa. Bhīma was taken by surprise and withdrew to the fort of Kānthkot in Kachchha. Maḥmūd rested his army at Pāṭaṇa, replenished his stock of water and provisions, and left it unscathed. The army of Pāṭaṇa met the invader at Mundher—Moḍhera—and was defeated. Something more must have happened at this stage, which the Muslim chroniclers have omitted in their writings.

Young emperor Bhoja had attained considerable strength. Bhīma of Pāṭaṇa was practically his vassal. Saurāshṭra was ruled by the Ābhīra king Maṇḍalika, perhaps a feudatory of Bhīma. Ānarta, Kheṭaka Maṇḍala and the valley of the Mahī formed part of Mālwā; the valley of the Sābarmati was a part of Bhoja's dominion; and so was Lāṭa. The story of Maḥmūd putting up one Dabishleem as a temporary ruler at Pāṭaṇa is a later legend. This part of the country was quite rich. What was it that made Maḥmūd suddenly leave such an easy conquest of a rich country and turn further west into the peninsula? What were the forces of Śākambharī, Medapāta, Naḍḍūla and Mālwā doing when Maḥmūd was rushing on them with such a mighty force? The only possible explanation is that the confederate forces of old Gūrjaradeśa stood in a solid phalanx in defence of their land and Maḥmūd thought it wiser to proceed to Somanātha rather than risk a battle with them.

1 *TKA.* IX. 45.
2 *JRAS.* 1928, 235f.

From Moḍhera, Maḥmūd marched on Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa looting Delvāḍā on the way. On January 6, 1026, he invested the fort of Somanātha. It was in charge of Maṇḍalika, the descendant of the Ābhīra Gṛharipu with whom Mūlarāja had fought. According to the early Muslim chroniclers, the defenders fought with unabated heroism. At one stage, the army of the Turk entered the town but was driven out before eventide. On the 8th, a terrible battle ensued. 50,000 Indian warriors laid down their life in defence of their beloved shrine. Maḥmūd captured the fort, entered the temple sanctified by centuries of devotion, broke the *Liṅga* to pieces, looted the temple and burnt it to the ground.[1]

The Third Temple of beautiful thin-grained red sand stone was thus destroyed. I saw the steps of the temple, the base of the pillars burnt and the débris of its south wall sloping seaward imbedded in the earth (pl. XLVIII).

A sacred city like that of Somanātha armoured principally by the devotion and reverence of the whole country, fell a prey to an army which had no religious scruples.

Maḥmūd could not enjoy the fruits of his lightning conquest of Somanātha. He could not have halted there beyond a month.

Kitab Zain-ul-Akhbār, the earliest source, gives the following account:

"From that place Maḥmūd turned back, and the reason was that Param Deo, who was the king of the Hindus, was in the way, and the Amir Maḥmūd feared lest this great victory might be spoiled. He did not come back by the direct way, but took a guide and marching by the way of Manṣūra and the bank of the Sihūn, went towards Multan. His soldiers suffered heavily on the way, both from the dryness of the desert and from the Jatts of Sind. Many animals and a large number of men of the Muslim army perished on the way, and most of the beasts of burden died, till at last they reached Multan."[2]

Ibn-ul-Athīr, writing two hundred years later, mentions the same reason of Maḥmūd's retreat, and corroborates Al-Gardīzī. "The Sultān raised his standard with the intention of returning, but as Param Deo, one of the most powerful of the Rājas of Hindustān, had to be met on the way, he did not consider it advisable to fight with him at that time, under all circumstances; he turned towards Multan by way of Sindh. His troops suffered great privations *en route,* in some places, on account of

1 *Elliot* II. 249.
2 *Zain-ul-Akhbār* pp. 86-87 of the Text.

scarcity of water, and in others, for want of fodder, but at last, after suffering great distress and hardship, he reached Ghazni in the year 417 A.H. (A.D. 1026)."[1]

This explains why Maḥmūd did not meet with any opposition while entering Kathiawar. The confederate forces of 'Paramadeva' had trapped Maḥmūd in Kathiawar; and he had no chance of an escape except by a precipitate retreat though Kachchha to Sindh. Paramadeva, the king of the Hindus, was in the way. With the army of this king in hot pursuit of him, he started retreating as fast as he could, plundering Kānthkot on the way.[2]

Maṇḍalika, the Ābhīra ruler of Somanātha, was also among the confederate princes who pursued Maḥmūd's army. Maḥmūd could not withstand the onslaught. The *Tārikh-i-Sorath* states that the Muslim army did not make a stand but fled. It was a rout.

"Shah Maḥmūd took to his heels in dismay and saved his life, but many of his followers of both sexes were captured....Turks, Afghans and Mughal female prisoners, if they happened to be virgins, were accepted as wives by the Indian soldiers. . . The bowels of the others, however, were cleansed by means of emetics and purgatives, and thereafter the captives were married to men of similar rank." "Low females were joined to low men. Respectable men were compelled to shave off their beards, and were enrolled among the Shekavat and the Wadhel tribes of Rajputs; whilst the lower kinds were allotted to the castes of Kolis, Khantas, Babrias and Mers."[3] The *Devala Smṛiti* was in active practice.

Muslim chroniclers corroborate the fact that fever and thirst paralysed the bulk of the army. It was trapped into waterless regions. A large part of the army and most of the beasts of burden perished on the way. At last Mansūra in Sindh was reached. The formidable army, exultant with confidence, which Maḥmūd had led against Gūrjaradeśa, returned thinned in numbers, drooping in spirit. Ultimately, Maḥmūd, after a short halt at Multan, reached Ghazni on April 2, 1026. This expedition was a disastrous end to a brilliant series of raids. Maḥmūd gave up his intentions on India thereafter.

The later panegyrists of Ghazni loved to sing of this episode as a great feat of Maḥmūd when, after two hundred years, it had come to be invested with fanciful details.

A wave of righteous hatred against the invader swept over the whole of Northern India. The grim defiance with which Jayapāla and Ānanda-

1 *TA*. 15-16.
2 *DHNI*, II. 961.
3 *Tārikh-i-Sorath*, p. 112.

pāla faced Maḥmūd only reflected the mood of the country. Al-Birūni in his *Indika* writing in A.D. 1030 attests to the fanatic hatred felt by the Indians against the *mlechchhas*. "Mahḥmūd", says Al-Birūni, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed there wonderful exploits by which Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims."[1]

From this time, Śiva the Destroyer, was the God of Resistance and in His name millions laid down their lives in defence of their faith and land till in A.D. 1665 and thereafter again in His name, the South under Shivāji and his successors with *'Har Har Mahādeva'* on its lips rose in resistance and destroyed the Mughal Empire.

CHAPTER XI

THE FIFTH TEMPLE

(Pls. I and V-XXII)

Emperor Bhoja of Mālwā died in A.D. 1055. Karṇa of Chedi aided by Bhīma of Aṇahilavāḍa, invaded Mālwā and possibly dethroned Jayasiṁha, son and successor of Bhoja (A.D. 1055-1066).[2] During this period Somanātha continued to be the guardian deity of the Chālukyas.

Between A.D. 995 and 1075 the Chālukya kings of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭan had the status similar to that of a feudatory. In A.D. 1075 Karṇa, Bhīma's son, fast careering towards a higher status, crossed the Tāpti river and annexed Lāṭa (South Gujarat) including the Navasari District, by A.D. 1075. In the inscription of that year, he calls himself by a title higher than that of a feudatory.[3] About this time the word Gurjarabhūmi also came to be applied to modern Gujarat. The Temple of Somanātha must have been reconstructed by this time for an Inscription mentions Siyāka II coming to Prabhāsa and performing a *Svarṇa Tulā* ceremony in A.D. 1045.[4]

The Arab travellers who visited India were all impressed by the sanctity and importance of Somanātha Pāṭan. Āl-Bīruni attested to its importance.[5] *Zain-ul-Akhbār*, in the middle of the eleventh century stated:—"In Hindustan, on the shores of the sea, there is a big city called Sumnāt which is as sacred to the Hindus as Mecca to the Musilms."[6]

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1 *AI*. I. 22.

2 *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Pt. III. p. 154.

3 *JBBRAS*. XXVI. 250.

4 Important Inscriptions from Baroda State ed. by Gadre.

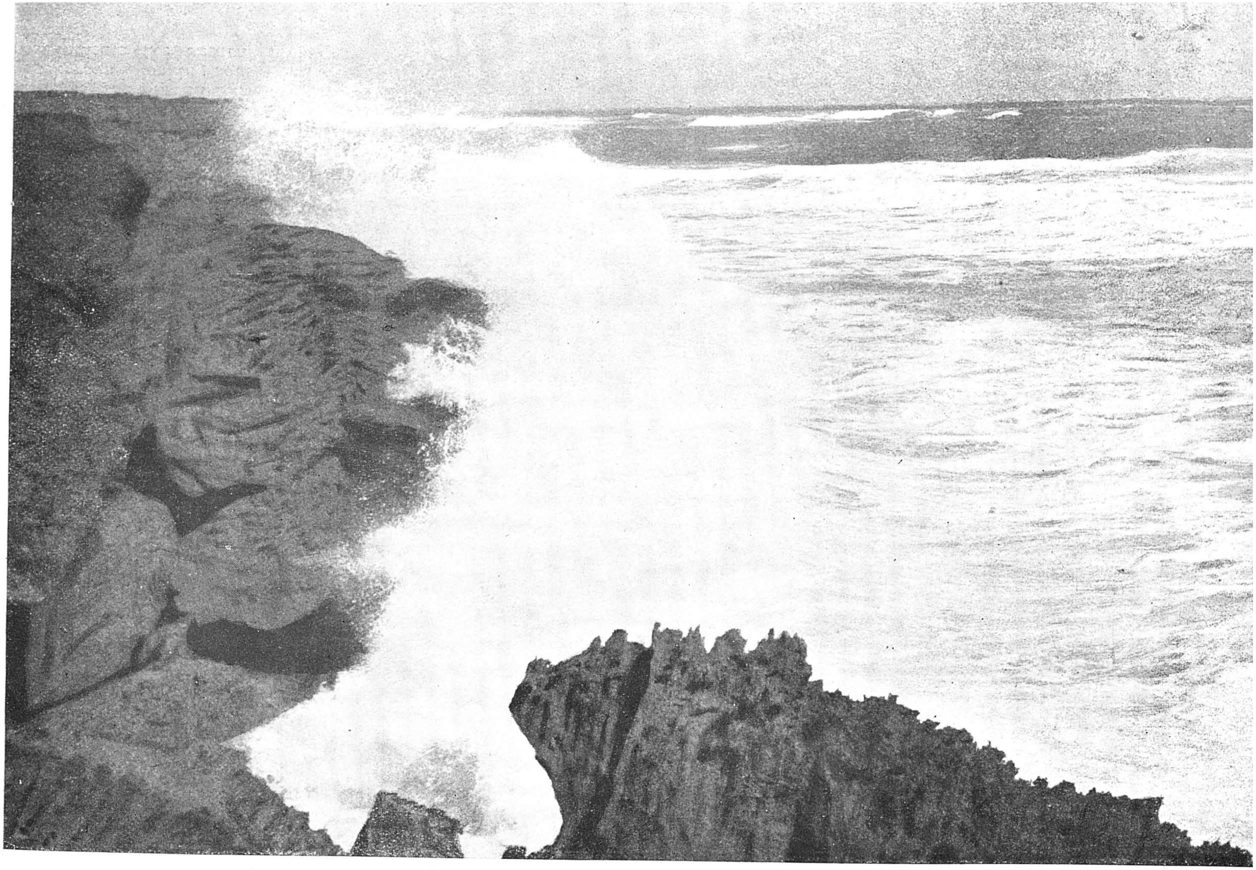
5 *Tahqiq Ma Li 'L Hind* by Āl-Bīrūni (English Translation by Sachau) Vol. II. p. 104.

6 Ray: *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 953.

PLATE I

Somanātha: general view showing the main temple as also (to the right) the Pārvatī Shrine with the sea in the background, looking south-west. The peg lines indicate the excavated trenches

PLATE II



A general view of the sea, a little distance away from the shrine of Somanātha

The temple at the Bālakha Tīrtha

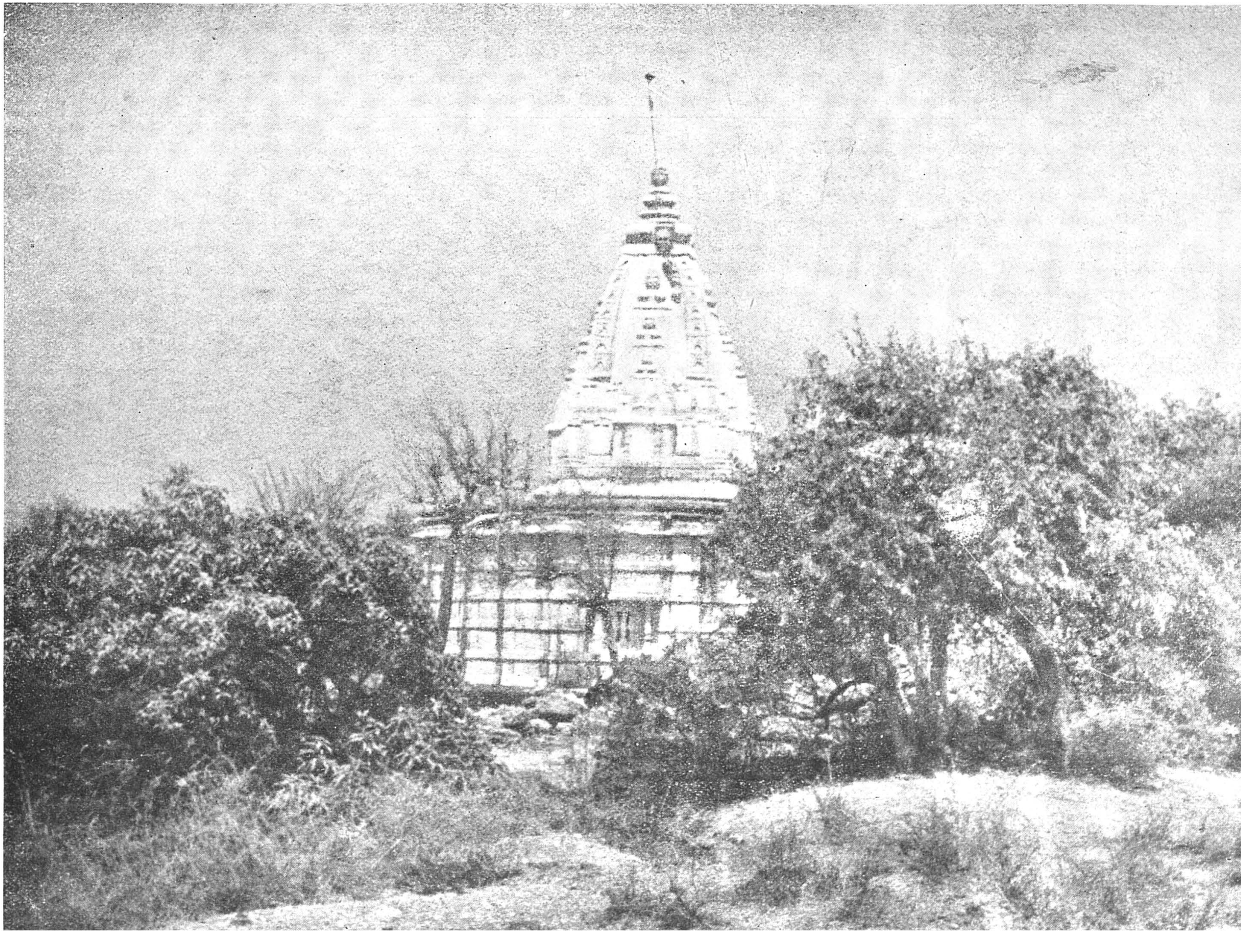
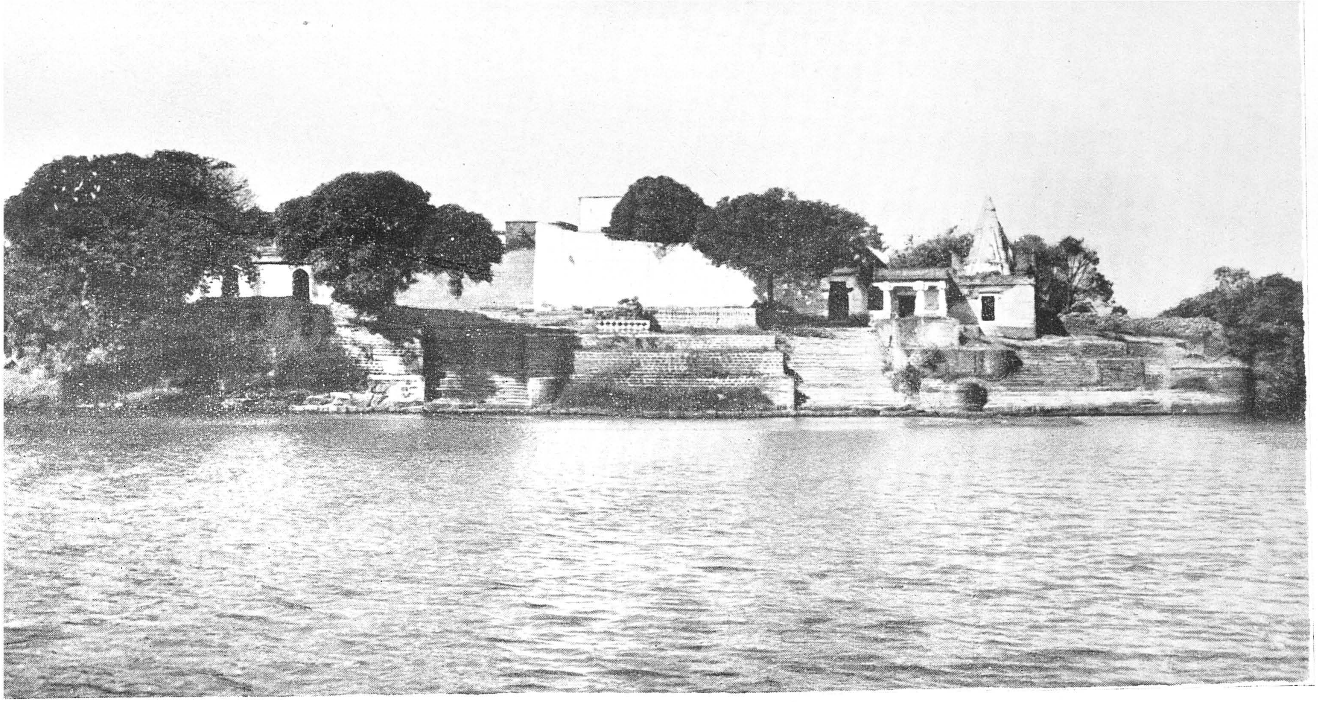


PLATE III



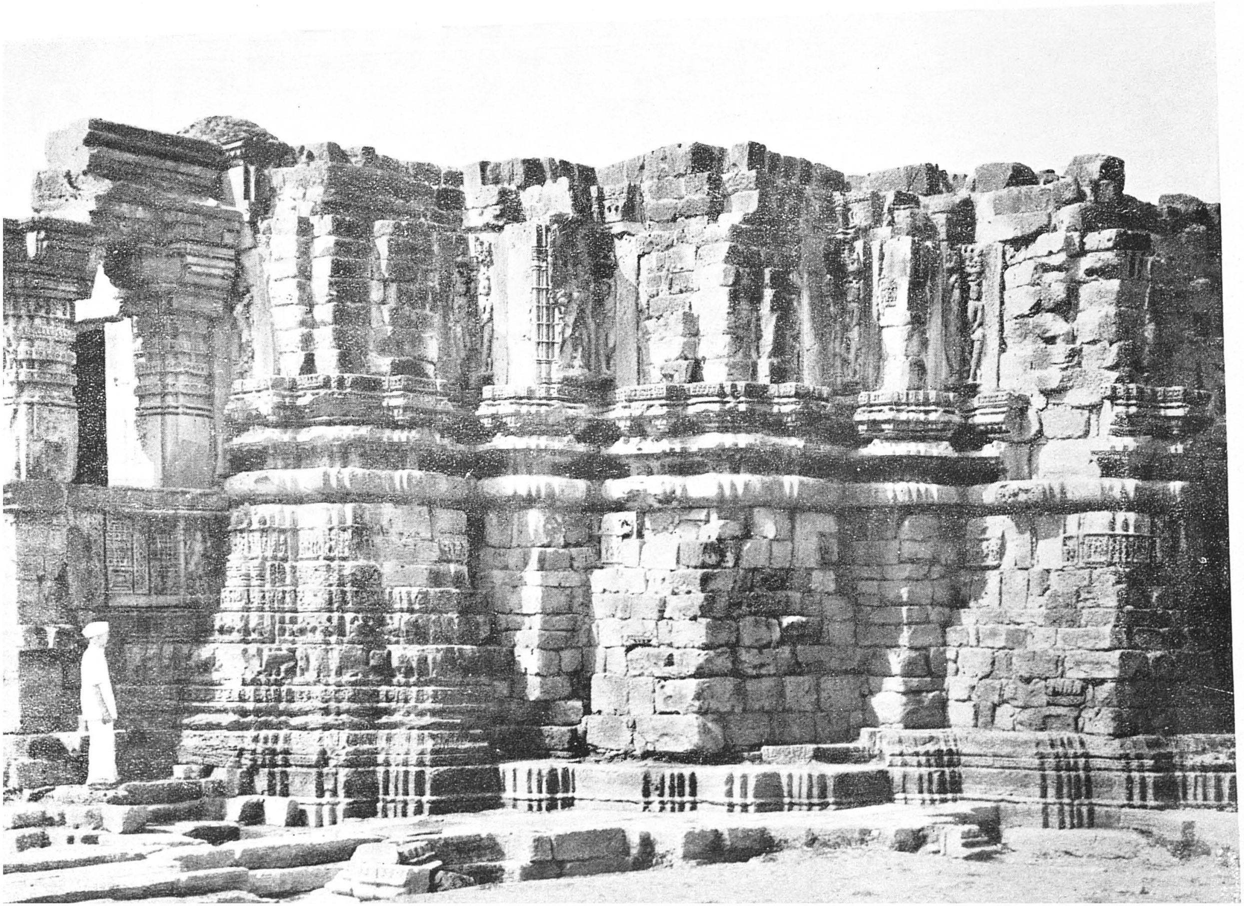
Dehotsarga, the present site

PLATE V

Somanātha: general view showing the northern face of the temple. The ladies to the left are walking to the main entrance while the figure to the right is seen coming out of the northern exit of the maṇḍapa

Somanātha: General view showing the southern face of the temple

PLATE VII



Somanātha: closer view of the north-eastern corner of the temple. To the left of the figure are seen the remains of the porch

PLATE VIII

Somanātha: closer view showing the frontal face of the temple with the dome over the main entrance

Somanātha: closer view of the north-western corner of the temple showing the balconied door of the pradakṣinā mārga

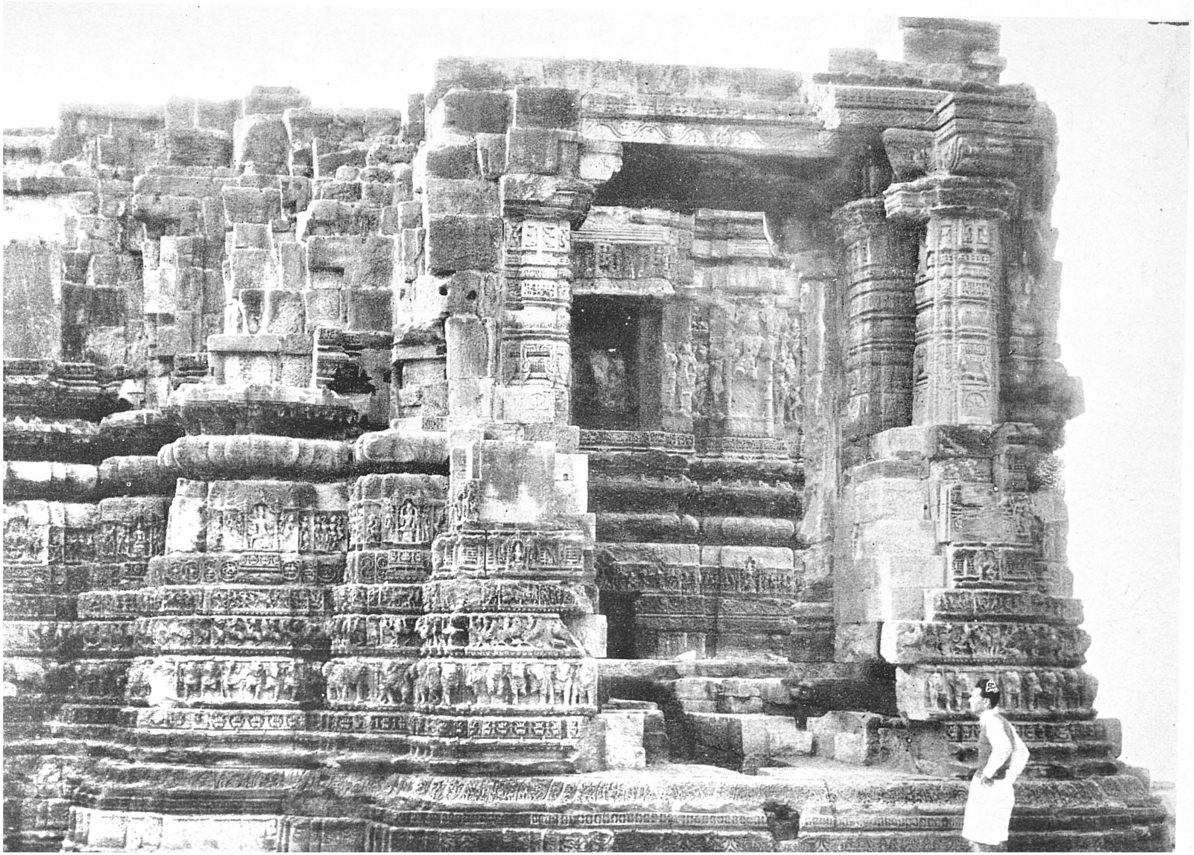
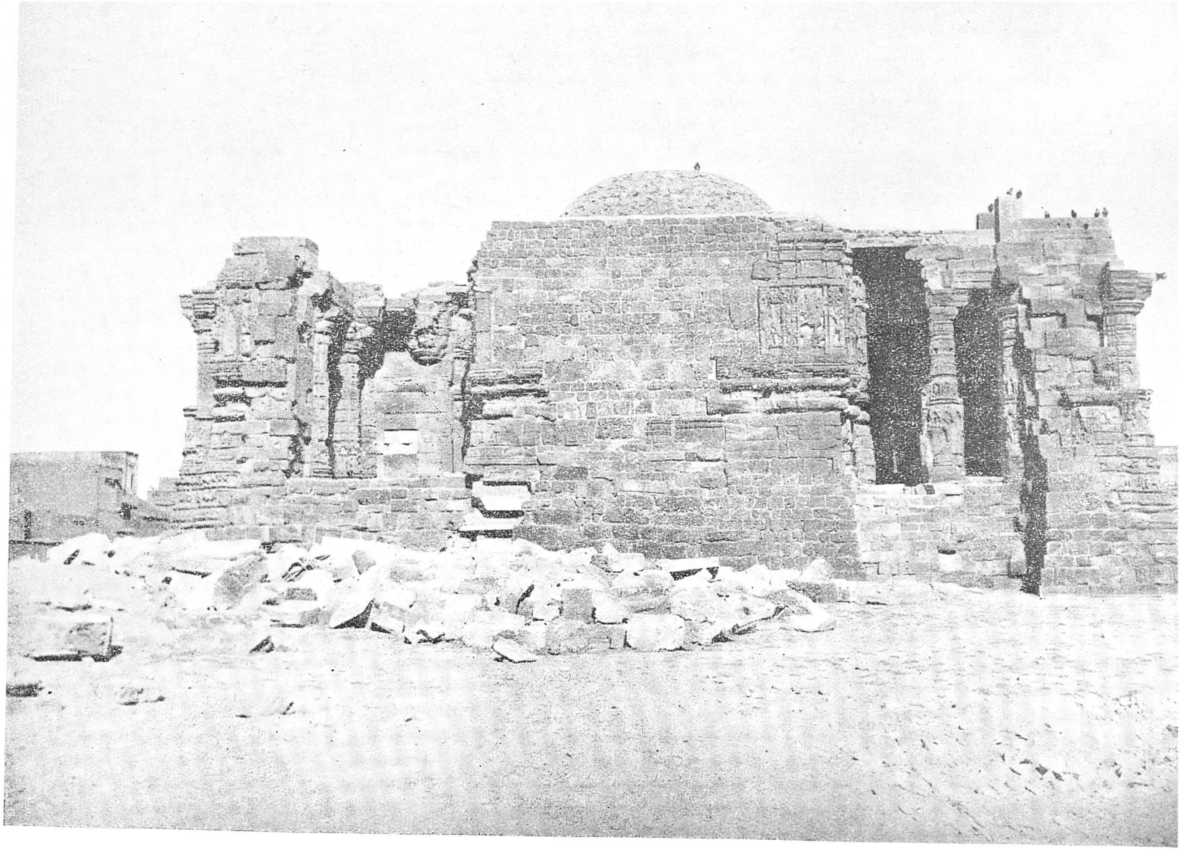


PLATE IX

PLATE X

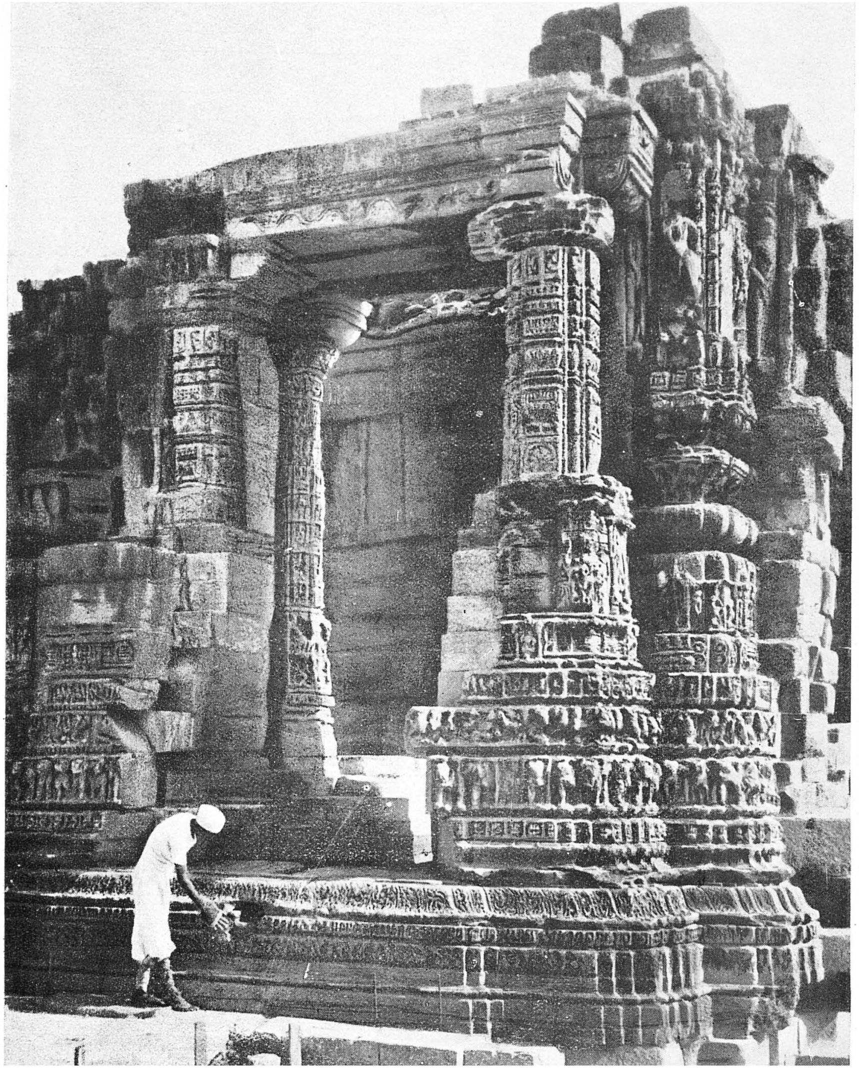


Somanātha: general view of the western face of the temple showing (a) the walled up back of the garbhagṛha and (b) the destroyed pradakṣinā mārga on either side

PLATE XI

Somanātha: closer view of a part of the southern face of the temple showing the condition of the images where they have survived both on the pitha and on the mandovara

PLATE XII



Somanātha: close-up of the balconied door of the pradakṣinā mārg on the north, looking south-east

Somanātha: closer view of a part of the maṇḍapa showing muslim arches between original temple pillars. The figure on the left is seen bowing at the garbhgṛha door-step

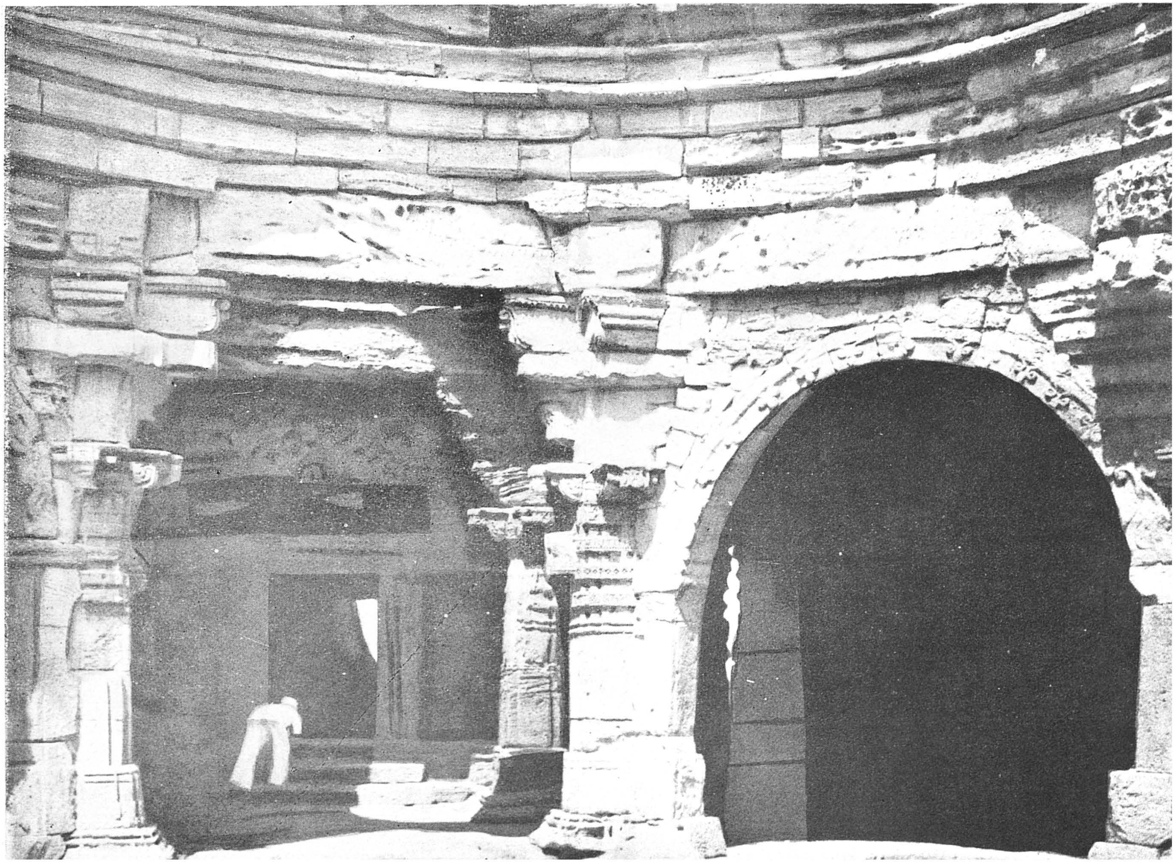
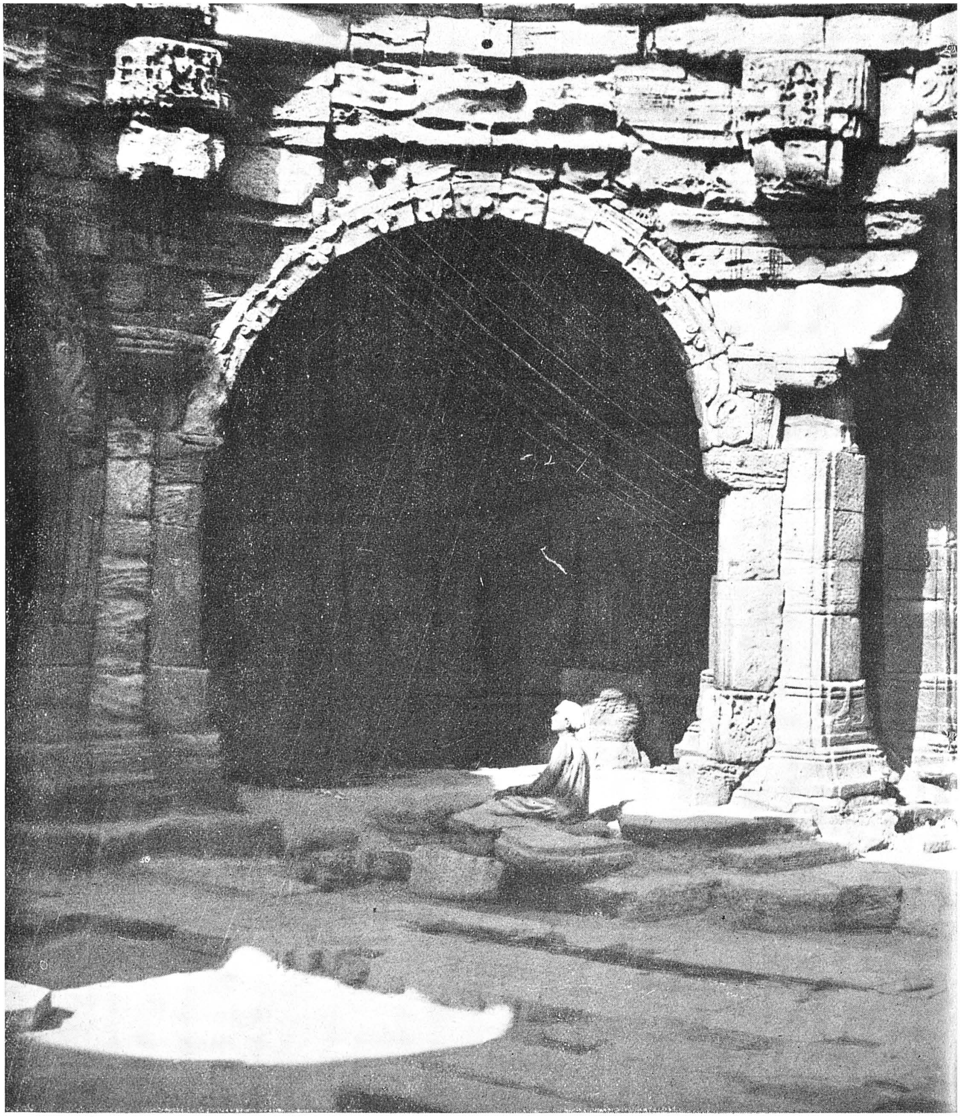


PLATE XIII



Somanātha: closer view of a muslim arch in the maṇḍapa showing the fleur-de-lis pattern ornament. Also mark the honeycombed surface of the lintels.

PLATE XIV

Somanātha: detailed view showing the rise of a muslim arch butting against the original temple pillar

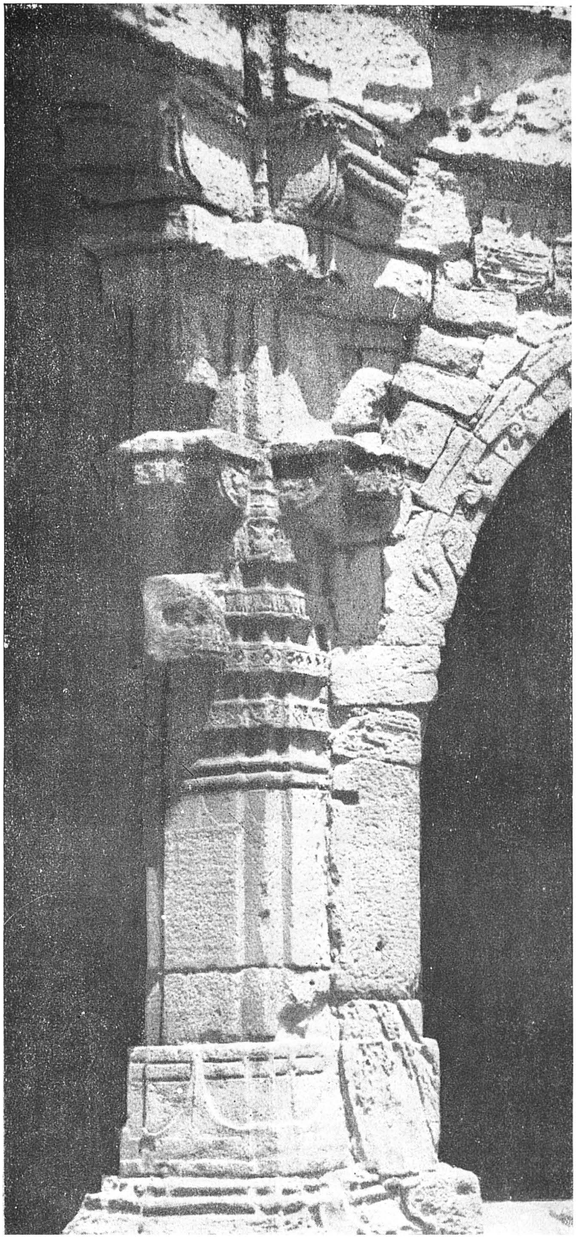
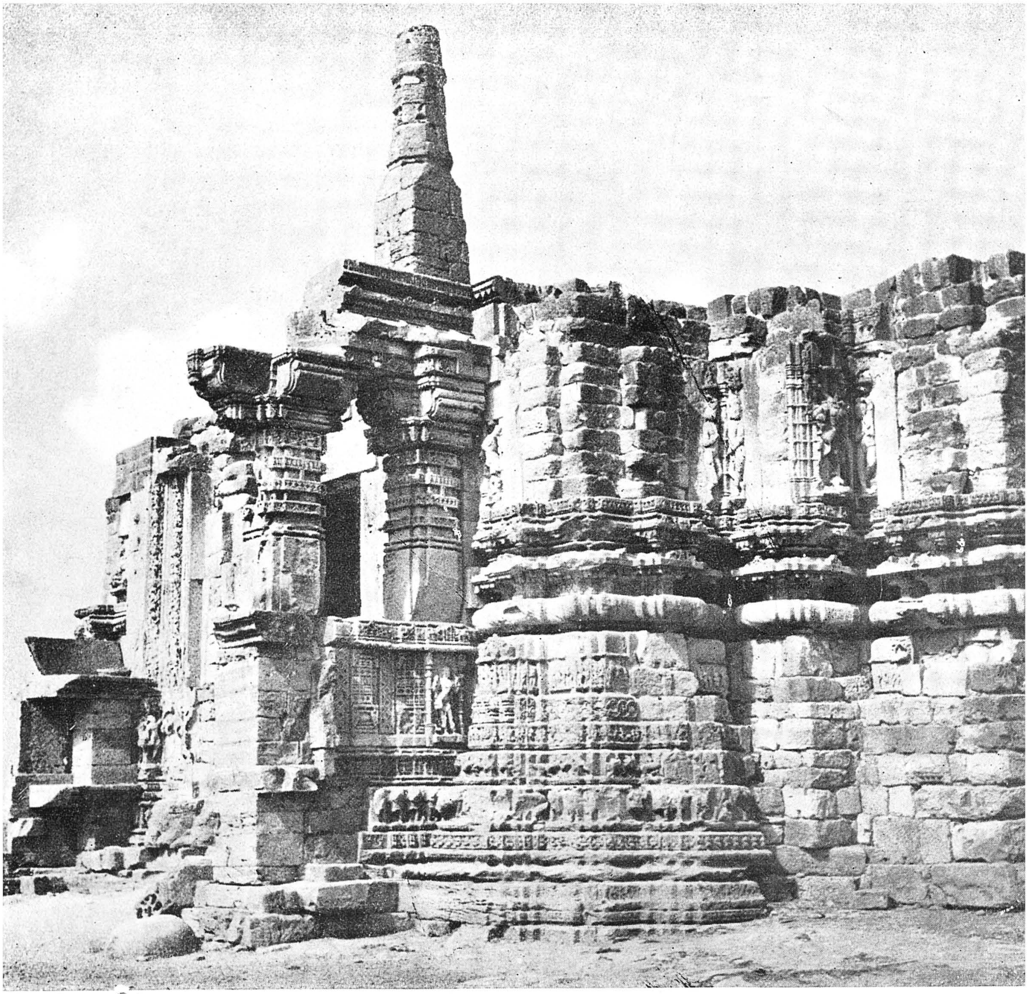


PLATE XV



Somanātha: closer view of the north-eastern corner of the temple with the minaret over the main entrance

PLATE XVI

Somanātha: detailed view of the corbelled circles forming the ceiling of the garbha-gṛha; externally it was converted into a roughly-constructed dome

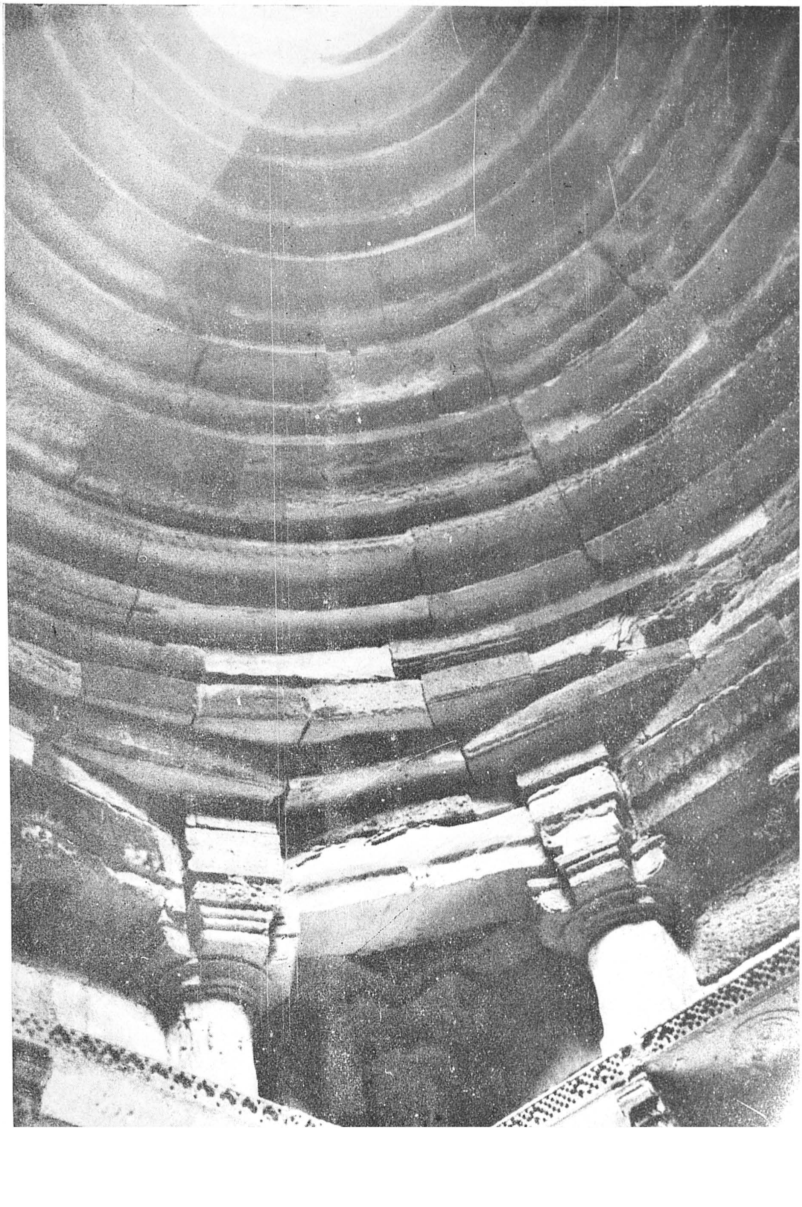


PLATE XVII

PLATE XVIII

Somanātha: close-up of the ceiling at the main entrance

Somanātha: close-up of another ceiling at the main entrance depicting nāgadaman scene. Externally this too was a dome

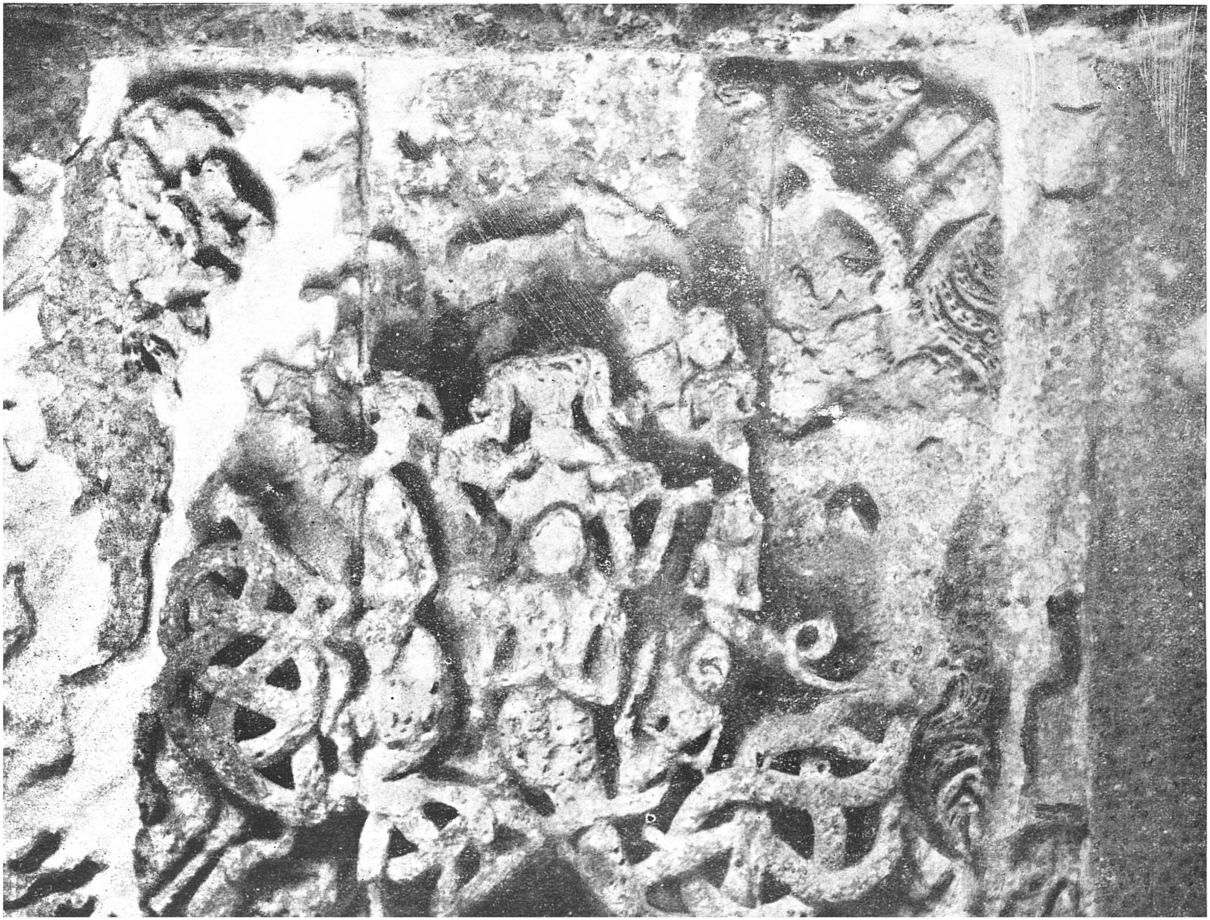


PLATE XIX

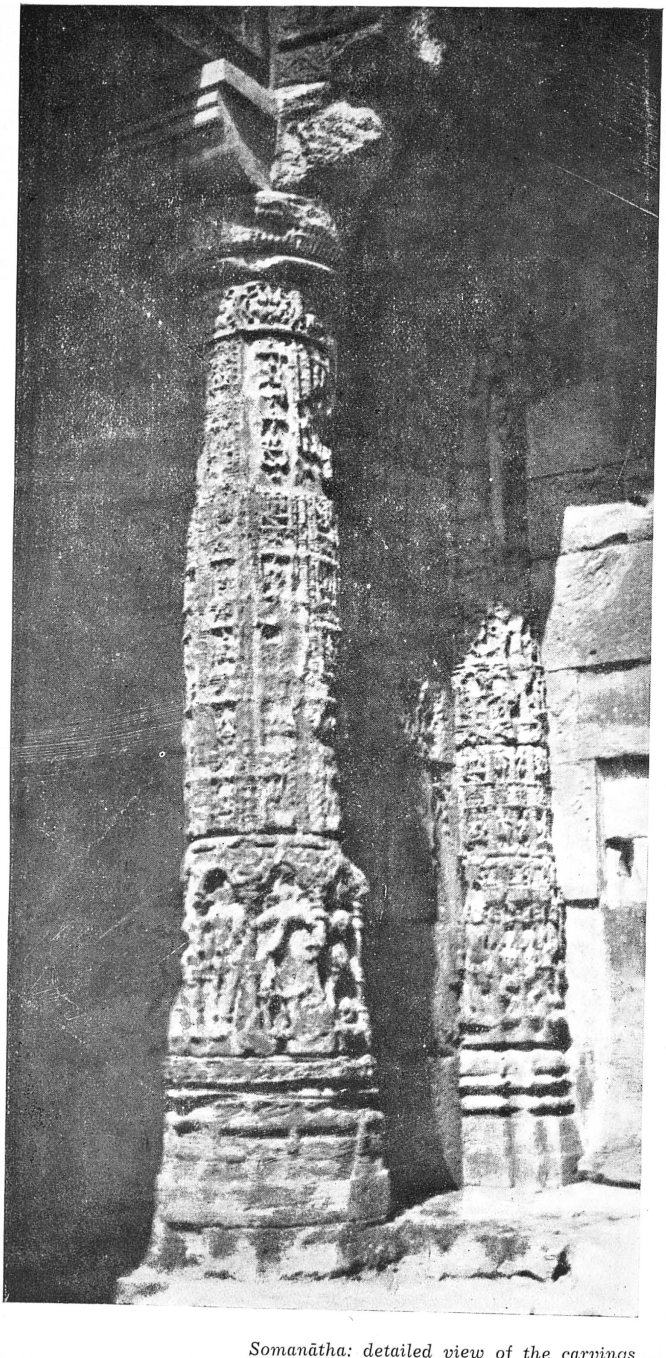
PLATE XX

Somanātha: close-up of the remains of the porch-pillars flanking the northern side of the main entrance

PLATE XXI

Somanātha: detailed view of the carvings on the porch-pillar flanking the southern side of the main entrance

PLATE XXII



Somanātha: detailed view of the carvings on a pillar in the northern portion of the pradakṡinā mārga

Marco Polo, writing in the 13th century mentions Somanātha as a great centre of trade.[1]

Gujarat, as it rose in importance, had to face the wrath of the neighbouring kingdom, Mālwā; in fact, the kingdom of Gujarat had grown at the expense of Mālwā after Emperor Bhoja's death. During the last days of Karṇa, Gujarat was invaded by Lakshmaṇadeva of Mālwā, a brilliant military leader.

Jayasiṁha, later also styled Siddharāja, the son of Karṇa and Mīnalādevī came to the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭana in A.D. 1096. Soon after, a general of his had to wash the feet of the Paramāra king of Mālwā, who had invaded Aṇahilavāḍa, in token of humble submission.[2] Jayasiṁha and the Queen Mother had been on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Somanātha.[3] It was at this time that the Queen Mother induced her son to remit the tax on pilgrims of Somanātha.

Jayasiṁha slowly began to consolidate the fragments of his kingdom which had suffered heavily on account of the invasion of Mālwā. Having done so, the young Chālukya entered upon a career of conquest and built up an empire. He carried his victorious arms to Ajmer in the North and Kolhapur in the South. He also conquered Mālwā and annexed it to his territory. He was a patron of learning and arts and undertook great works of architectural magnificence and his capital Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭana became one of the greatest centres of power and learning in India in the twelfth century. He has been, like Vikramāditya and King Arthur, immortalised in folk songs and tales of his people for the last nine hundred years. He was the first architect of Gujarat, as Sardar Patel was the latest.

When Dhārā, the capital of Mālwā, fell in A.D. 1136,[4] its Paramāra king was the disciple of Bhāva Bṛhaspati, a man of vast learning. Born in Vārāṇasi (Banaras) and of a remarkable personality even when young, Bhāva rose to distinction as a leading light of the Pāśupata cult. His ardent apostleship of Śaivism brought him the reputation that he was the *avatāra* of Nandīśvara, the bull-god, sacred to Śaṅkara. After taking the vow of Pāśupatas, he performed penance and went on pilgrimages, initiating several kings as his disciples and getting temples built to Śaṅkara. He lived first at Kānyakubja, and then moved to Ujjain, a great cultural centre of all-India importance. When Siddharāja returned from his conquest of Mālwā, he brought the library of Bhoja

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1 *Marco Polo:* Yules' Edition, Vol. II, Ch. XXIX.
2 P.C. 58.
3 P.C. 57.
4 P.C. 59.

to Pāṭana, and invited Bhāva Bṛhaspati to take charge of Somanātha. The conqueror was 'bound in brotherhood' to him.[1] Though venerated as the greatest Śaivite of the time, he was then no more than about forty years of age.

It was the hey day of Gujarat. For the first time, it had emerged in history as a kingdom, as a distinctive cultural unit and as the nucleus of an imperial power. Somanātha Pāṭan or Devpattaṇa, was one of the great entrepots of India and one of its most active centres of learning and religious life. Bhāva Bṛhaspati continued to be the head of its holy shrine. In his old age, Jayasiṁha Siddharāja went on pilgrimage to Somanātha seeking a boon, a son; but it was denied to him.

Kumārapāla of the junior branch succeeded Siddharāja, in A.D. 1144, as emperor of Gurjaradeśa. He was a great and wise monarch. After a short period of war-like activity, he came under the influence of Hemachandra, the Jain polymath. The Jain *prabandhas* claim that he gave up Śaivism and embraced Jainism in A.D. 1160 under the influence and advice of Hemachandra. I have examined this question in *Imperial Gurjaras* in detail.[2] There is no doubt that Kumārapāla accepted Hemachandra as his guide, philosopher and friend, not only in social and ethical matters but also in matters political. He 'loved Jainism' as poet Someśvara puts it. But in the Udaipur inscription of A.D. 1164 and in the inscription of Bhāva Bṛhaspati of the same year, he is described as a devotee of Śiva and he does not appear ever to have wavered in his devotion to his guardian deity. Even Hemachandra had to accompany Kumārapāla to Somanātha Pāṭan, to worship Somanātha and had to depend upon the god's mandate to vouch for his own sanctity.

The venerable Bhāva Bṛhaspati then approached Kumārapāla, then ruling over a flourishing empire, to repair the shrine. The Emperor agreed and Bhāva then built the *meru prasāda,* says the Bhadrakāli inscription recording the event, and it looked 'august like unto Mount Kailāsa.'

The ceremonies were duly celebrated before a crowded assembly. The aged Emperor, who attended in person, placed ornaments on Bṛhaspati's neck with his own hand, washed his feet with sandal-wood paste, and bowed low before him. He presented his own ring to him and granted him the town where "*dharma* flourished and food was freely distributed". Then the Emperor, with water in his hands, said "I bestow on you, venerable Brāhmin, the title of *Gaṇḍa*. Enjoy it, together with your

1 EPSI. 186, Vs. 8.
2 *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa,* Pt. III; p. 193.

sons and grandsons till the Sun and Moon endure". He also made a gift of a village to Bhāva Bṛhaspati himself. The copper plate says "like Bhāva, there has not been a man, nor will there be any in future." In humility, thereafter he worshipped 505 saints.[1]

Bhāva Bṛhaspati's wife Mahādevi, says the inscription, was a beautiful woman, highly accomplished. They had four sons of virtue and learning, Aparāditya, Ratnāditya, Someśvara and Bhāskara.

It was not a mere reconstruction of the temple, but of the whole town. It was extended by adding a strong fort-wall to the north and south of the temple. On the temple, Bhāva placed gold pinnacles as also on the temples of Gaurī, Bhimeśvara, Kapardi (Śiva), Siddheśvara and other divinities. A court room was made for the kings to assemble. A reservoir was also constructed for pure water. In front of Lord Somanātha, a *maṇḍapa,* with beautiful and strong pillars, was erected and the seat for the deity was made in the form of a frog with a silver watercourse. The temple of god Pāpamochana was also built with a statue equal in height to that of three men, and a flight of steps leading to the river, a large number of houses for Brāhmans to live in; two big *vāpīs* with a shrine of Chaṇḍikā were also constructed.

This was how the great Fifth Temple came into existence. Its remains (pls. I and V to XXII) withstood the shocks of time and survived the attacks of destroyers. Aged, infirm, desecrated, it stood when Sardar Patel rescued it from neglect and pledged himself to its reconstruction. As a temple, it had done its work to remind ages of what India's faith had been; it was left only as a symbol of her to-be-forgotten misfortunes. With the dawn of a new era, the new temple has risen like the phoenix, from its own ashes.

CHAPTER XII

RENOVATION OF TRIPURĀNTAKA

For over a hundred years after the Fifth Temple was built by Bhāva Bṛhaspati in A.D. 1169, Saurāshṭra continued to be under the Chālukyas and their branch, the Vaghelas of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭan, and the land was fast coming to be known as Gūrjaradeśa or Gujarat. Somanātha, under the Pāśupata Āchāryas also continued to be the guardian deity of the royal house as also of the people of Gujarat. Prabhāsa Pāṭana also continued to be a great entrepot and a sacred place of all-India attraction.

1 *Verāval Praśasti* of Bhāva Bṛhaspati in the Temple of Bhadrakālī.

Bhīmadeva II, styled Bholā Bhīma, came to the throne of Pāṭan in A.D. 1178. During his reign Mu-zz-ud-Din Ghūri invaded Gujarat, but was defeated and retreated to Ghazni with great difficulty.[1] In 1192, however, the heroic Pṛthvīrāj, the Chāhamana ruler of Delhi, fell in the battle of Taraori; Ghūri won; and North India had the dire experience of total war. In 1197 Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, the Slave successor of Mu-zz-ud-Din who had established himself at Delhi occupied Aṇahilavāḍa. But his triumph was short-lived; he had to retire after a few months' occupation.

The Pāśupata Āchāryas were in charge of the family shrine of the royal Vaghela, Mūleśvara, at Maṇḍalī in North Gujarat. One Vedagarbharāśi was its head during the time of Bhīma II as also of the two temples of Śiva, built by Luṇāpasāka who was the Governor of Mālwā, during the reign of Ajayapāla (1137-76).[2] Luṇāpasāka is the Sanskritised form of *'Luṇāshi'*. Looking to the fervour with which Luṇāshi gave munificent grants to Śiva temples, I am inclined to find in him the original of the 'Luṇāshi' whose image is carved on a stone on the plinth of the Fifth Temple as worshipping Somanātha with flowers.

Bhīmadeva added a *Meghanāda Maṇḍapa* or the *Someśvara Maṇḍapa* to the Fifth Temple. Between 1219 and 1223 Vedagarbharāśi appears to have come to Saurāshṭra and taken charge of the shrines.[3]

The fortune of Gujarat declined. Internal dissensions and incessant pressure from the Slave Sultans of Delhi made it weaker with every generation.

The great brothers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, then rallied the forces of Gujarat under the leadership of Vīśaladeva, a military leader of great capacity. Vīśaladeva defeated the king of Mālwā and drove back Siṅghana of Broach, who had invaded Gujarat in A.D. 1247. Thus prays Someśvara, the family priest and poet : "O Lord! I offer but one prayer —let this Vīśaladeva be free from enemies."[4]

A new age of glory dawned on Gujarat. In 1262 Arjunadeva, Vīśaladeva's son, ascended the throne of Gujarat and ruled till 1274. His Verāval grant of A.D. 1264 is unique in every respect.[5] It states that when Arjunadeva was reigning victoriously at Aṇahilāpaṭaka and

1 *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Pt. III, p. 204.
2 *Ibid.*, Pt. III, p. 212.
3 E.I. II, pp. 439-440.
4 E.I. I, 31, Vs. 113.
5 I.A. XI. 241-215.

while the Mahāmātya Rāṇaka Māladeva was transacting the business of the seal and Amīr-Rukunadīna was reigning on the coast of Hormuja, one ship-owner Noradīna Pīroja, a native of Horamujadeśa with the blessings of the Pāśupatāchārya of the shrine of Somanātha, bought a piece of land outside the town of Somanātha and built a *mijigiti* (masjid). For the maintenance of this temple (masjid) he dedicated certain shops and appointed trustees including the Muslim congregations of Nākhuyānaurika (ship-owners), and the wharf people who were devoted to the Martyr and their preacher, and the Muslims among the landholders and the Persian artisans. When the Sultāns at Delhi were devastating the country ruthlessly, destroying the holy shrines of the Hindus, the Hindu kings of Gujarat were maintaining the highest tradition of their culture.[1]

In the year 1271 are recorded the *Nanāka Praśastis* of Vīsaladeva of Gujarat, (written sometime after the death of the King—one in 1218 V.S. and the other in 1328 V.S.). Poet Nanāka is said to have inaugurated a college for men of learning called 'Sārasvata-Sadas' and a playground for the students called 'Sārasvata-Krīḍāketana' at Prabhāsa, where the Sarasvati falls into the sea. King Vīsaladeva stationed him at Somanātha Pāṭaṇa with a grant commissioning him to perform *śrādha for him.*[2]

The *Cintra Praśasti* which describes the pilgrimage of Tripurāntaka and the renovation of the Fifth Temple by him in A.D. 1287 gives interesting information. Gujarat was considered the homeland of the Lakulīśa Pāśupatas. Kārshaṇa or Karvan in the Broach district in Gujarāt claimed the honour of being the place where Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Lakulīśa was born. He had four pupils—Kauśika, Gārgya, Kairusha and Maitreya. Among the successors of Gārgya, the same branch to which Bhāva Bṛhaspati of the Fifth Temple belonged, the ablest was Kartīkarāśi. He was succeeded by Vālmīkirāśi about the 13th century. In his turn he appointed a young ascetic named Tripurāntaka, as his successor.

Tripurāntaka's pilgrimage was first directed to the Himālayas where he visited Kedārnath, worshipped Śiva there, and had his ceremonial bath at Prayāga at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. From there he travelled to Śrīparvata where he was blessed by the sight of divine Mallinātha. Thereafter he had his bath in the sacred waters of the Revā among the rocks of the Vindhya mountains, hallowed by sage Agastya's footsteps.

From the Narmadā, Tripurāntaka turned south to the banks of the Godāvarī and visited Tryambaka. Continuing his travels southwards,

1 *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Pt. III, p. 221.
2 *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, ed. by Gadre pp. 74-75.

the pligrim reached Rāmeśvara. Turning northwards he came to Prabhāsa. There he received high honours from the head of the shrine who was styled Bhāva Bṛhaspati—clearly a title of the holder of the office. He was appointed an 'Ārya' and the sixth Mahattara.

Tripurāntaka was a great builder. He built five temples. A *toraṇa* —a sort of triumphal arch— was also erected as the enclosure, surrounding these temples which were to the north of the *maṇḍapa* near a wondrous old waterclock *(Ghatikālaya)* on the site of an ancient temple.

The first of these temples was built for the welfare of Tripurāntaka's mother *Mālhaṇā* and the idol was called *Malhaṇeśvara.* The second was dedicated to *Umāpati* in honour of the head of the shrine named Bṛhaspati, whose wife was Umā, the third called *Umeśvara* was installed for the welfare of the lady herself. The remaining two, a *Tripurāntakeśvara* and a *Rāmeśvara* were named after the founder himself and his wife. Five statues in the *antarālas* of the five temples were also dedicated respectively to *Gorakshaka* (Gorakhnāth), *Bhairava, Āñjaneya* (Hanumān) *Sarasvatī* and *Siddhi-Vināyaka* (Gaṇeśa).

Tripurāntaka also made provision for the service of the Temple and also laid down rules regarding the worship.

He got the *Śāsana* or grant for the benefit of the Temple with his self-acquired money. Fifteen *drammas* were deposited in the treasury of Chāturjātaka every month. He also purchased and handed over to it three shops the income whereof was to be spent for the daily offerings of flowers. He also made a grant of land for other miscellaneous expenses and secured aid from merchants for certain festivities.

Tripurāntaka was one of the most devout Pāśupata āchāryas who enriched the shrine—and the last.[1]

A cataclysm more devastating than Nature's was brewing in distant Delhi.

CHAPTER XIII
DESTRUCTION BY ALLA-UD-DIN KHILJI

By A.D. 1290 a change came over the Sultānate of Delhi. So far it was the military camp of foreign Turks, from where they carried fire and sword to all parts of the country where men had more humane traditions of war. But conversion and kidnapping of women had brought into existence an Indian party among the supporters of the Sultānate. This party, headed by the Khiljis under Jalaludin, overthrew the foreign Turks and captured the Sultānate.

1 E.I. I. pp. 271-287; The *Cintra Praśāsti* of Sāraṅgdeva.

In A.D. 1292 Alla-ud-din,[1] nephew of Jalaludin[2] invaded Mālwā, captured the town of Bhilsa, plundered the country-side and took a large booty to Delhi. When in Mālwā, this ambitious and irrepressible young man heard of Devagiri, then ruled by Rāmchandra, the Yādava (A.D. 1271-1304), and of Warangal ruled by Rudrammādevī, the daughter of Gaṇapati of the Kakatīya dynasty, under the title of Rudradeva Mahārāja (A.D. 1261-1295). He set out from Delhi in A.D. 1294, marched to Devagiri, plundered the Yadava's dominions and brought back a treasure of immense value. By simulating humility he induced his uncle to come to meet him there. On his arrival, however, Jalaludin was treacherously killed by Alla-ud-din. The murderer then took over the Sultānate in A.D. 1296.[3]

A little before this time, Sāraṅgadeva was succeeded on the throne of Gujarat by Karṇadeva (A.D. 1294-1304) who, in spite of popular legends, was neither weak nor wicked. Legends that have collected round his name are malicious accretions which failure always brings in its wake. The inscription of A.D. 1293 describes him as 'protecting his people in accordance with the Vedas and the Śāstras.'[4]

Karṇa was new to his kingdom and so was Alla-ud-din. The Sultān, however, was one of the most brutal and unscrupulous rulers known to history. On coming to the throne, he arrested the Moghul inroads from the northwest and turned his attention to the fertile plains and wealthy ports of Gujarat[5] which had defied Delhi for a century, and ordered Alaf Khan and Nusrat Khan to march against it.

There is a persistent legend that Karṇa's Mahāmātya Mādhava, a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa, invited Alla-ud-din to Gujarat. Merutuṅga, the author of the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* and Jīnaprabha Sūri, the author of the *Tīrthakalpataru,* both contemporaries, refer to this incident. The subsequent authorities are unanimous about it.[6] The *Dharmāraṇya* composed between A.D. 1300 and 1450 describes how the wicked, graceless, sinful minister Mādhava, the blot on his family and the foe of his country, destroyed the rule of the Kshatriyas and established the rule of the *mlechchhas*. Whether Mādhava betrayed his country to redress a private wrong or for personal benefit is difficult to say. The reason for this

1 *Glory that was Gurjaradeśā,* p. 222-224.
2 *History of India,* Wheeler. Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 51.
3 C.H.I. III. 97.
4 *Buddhi Prakāśā* (1910) LVII (March-April), paper on "Muralīdhar Temple—Inscription", Vs. 13.
5 Elliot III, 163.
6 P.C.; was written between A.D. 1303-1306.

betrayal, first given by the *Kāṇhaḍāde-prabandha,* was that Mādhava wanted to revenge himself on Karṇa, who enamoured of his brother's wife, had killed the husband and appropriated the wife.[1] Though this was accepted by later writers, it sounds too much like the usual legendary way of attributing a personal motive to kings and ministers, and is consistent neither with the character of Karṇa as disclosed by unimpeachable testimony, nor with the version given by the three earliest authorities. The betrayal of Gujarat by a Brāhmaṇa of culture and position, however, indicates not only the lack of any consciousness that it was an unforgivable sin to betray one's land to a foreigner but, worse still, complete unawareness of what the Turkish conquest involved.

Padmanābha, the author of *Kāṇhaḍāde-prabandha,* has given a detailed description of the invasion of Gujarat by Alla-ud-din's generals.

Alla-ud-din wanted to bribe the Chāhamana Kāṇhaḍāde of Jhalor to let him pass through his country; he declined the bribe. Samarasiṁha of Chitore, however, let the army pass through his territory.

Pillaging, burning, destroying, the army of Delhi marched towards Pāṭaṇa. "The Mussalmans, with Mādhava at their head, invested the city. The ex-Minister, traitor to the last, advised Karṇa to escape with his wife. The king takes the advice; the queen flees on foot; and the capital falls into the hands of Alāf Khan, the general of Alla-ud-din. And from what once were temples was sounded the muezzin's call to prayers."

The army then started on a further campaign of destruction to the South. It carried carnage right up to Surat, Rander, and the sea; it returned to Saurāshṭra, destroyed many of its towns, and proceeded to Prabhāsa. The Rajputs mobilised their strength to protect the shrine of Somanātha, and valiantly fought the enemy. But the fortress fell, and in front of the temple, which they had vainly sought to protect, the heroic warriors, after ceremonial bathing and anointment, fell fighting, and surrendered themselves to Somanātha. Mādhava, the cause of this evil, was also killed there.[2]

1 G.L. 103.

2 Jīnaprabhā Sūri, a contemporary, gives the year as V.S. 1356 (A.D. 1300). Merutuṅga in *Vichāra-Śreṇī* gives V.S. 1360=A.D. 1304.
Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, A.D. 1297 which B.G.I. accepts.
Tazi-Tul Amasir, A.D. 1300.
Tarikh-l-Alai, A.D. 1300.

The temple fell into the hands of the enemy. Alaf Khan broke open the shrine, shattered the idol to pieces and carried away the fragments in a cart to Delhi. "We shall make *chuṇam* out of it," he said.

The poet indignantly asks:

Ah Rudra ! Lord !
Thy wrath reduced to ashes
The graceless demons of yore ;
Thou did'st then overspread the earth with Dharma ;
The power which oppress'd the gods,
Thou did'st shatter.
As the wind bloweth away the chaff
Thou did'st put to flight
The wicked demon Tripura.
Oh Destroyer, I, Padmanābha, ask Thee,
Where is the mighty trident of Thine ?

The conquering army, the poet proceeds, burnt villages, devastated the land, plundered people's wealth, took Brahmaṇas, children and women of all castes captive, and flogged them with throngs of raw hide, carried a moving prison with it and converted the prisoners into obsequious Turks.[1]

Thus ended the Glory that was Gurjaradeśa.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SHRINE RISES AGAIN AND AGAIN

Soon after Alla-ud-din's general damaged the temple and broke the idol of Somanātha, the temple was repaired by Mahīpāla, the Chuḍāsama King of Junāgadh. The *Liṅga* was installed by his son Khaṅgar some time between A.D. 1325 and 1351.[2]

The fate of Gujarat was, however, in the hands of the Sultāns of Delhi. In A.D. 1318 it rebelled, but was crushed by Multani, a general of Delhi.[3] The Tughlak Sultāns of Delhi then appointed one governor of

1 G.L. 103-104.
2 Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, 349 and 362.
3 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII, p. 230.

Gujarat after another, all of whom carried fire and sword to every part of Gujarat. The shrine, however, escaped their attention till about 1393 when Zaffarkhan, then Governor of Gujarat, planned an expedition to Somanātha. He is reported to have destroyed the temple.[1] This, however, has not been corroborated by other historical chronicles, nor was the temple destroyed. The structural evidence of the outlets also establishes that no elaborate repairs were conducted at the end of the 14th century. Zaffarkhan built a mosque in Somanātha, and tried to convert the people to Islām. But the people revolted, and threw off the yoke of the Sultān and became independent.

Delhi's governor of Gujarat became independent in about 1403. Muhammad Shah was the first Sultān. He was, however, put to death by his father Zaffarkhan who stepped in his place as Muzzafar Shah. He, in his turn, was poisoned by his grandson, Ahmed Shah, in or about 1411. Ahmed Shah transferred the capital from Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭan to Karṇavati which he named Ahmedabad in 1413.[2]

Ahmed Shah took to a rigorous campaign of converting Hindus to Islām. Many petty chiefs, till then independent, accepted Islām and agreed to pay a regular tribute. In 1414, he led his army against the Hindu ruler of Junāgadh, defeated him in battle, but restored to him his kingdom after he had tendered his submission. Ahmed Shah overran practically the whole of the present-day Gujarat, destroying temples wherever he went. But nothing untoward appears to have happened to the Temple.

In 1459 Fatekhan, the grandson of Ahmed Shah, the founder of Ahmedabad, was placed on the throne of Gujarat at the age of about 13 with the title of Muhammad Shah known as Mahmud Begda. He proved to be a powerful ruler and a great general. In 1467 he attacked the fort of Junāgadh and received the submission of Rā Māṇḍlik, the ruler whose name is associated in tradition with Narsiṁha Mehta, the great saint of Junāgadh. But in the following year, Mahmud heard that Māṇḍlik continued to visit the shrine of Somanātha with a golden umbrella and sent an army to Junāgadh to humble the Rā's pride. Rā, however, readily submitted and presented the obnoxious umbrella to the Sultān.[3]

Māṇḍlik, however, asserted his independence soon after. In 1469 Mahmud Begda marched to Jūnāgadh which, after a siege of two years,

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII, p. 233.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 235.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 245.

surrendered. Rā Māṇḍlik humbly solicited protection from Begda and embraced Islām. Begda removed the *Liṅga* from the temple of Somanātha and converted it into a mosque. Some of the Muslim accretions seem to have been added at this time.

But the edifice was not used as a mosque for any length of time. Soon after, it appears the level of the temple was raised and the outlet "C" for the sacred water was constructed. It is difficult to say when this took place but it could not be very much later than A.D. 1500. For about 150 or 200 years thereafter, the worship of Somanātha continued in the temple.

The Sultānate of Gujarat became decadent very soon. As usual with the Sultānates of that period, palace intrigues, royal murders and internecine warfare characterised it. One of the disappointed generals, in 1572, sought the help of Emperor Akbar who was not slow to respond to this invitation. Akbar marched on Gujarat and annexed it to his empire in 1573. As a result of the statesmanship of this great Moghul, Gujarat saw public order and a strong government for the first time in several centuries. One of Akbar's viceroys appears to have captured the fort of Jūnāgadh in about 1577. The shrine of Somanātha continued to remain unmolested.[1]

Upto Begda's destruction of Pāṭaṇa, Prabhāsa continued to be famous both for its sanctity and for its trade. The shrine attracted pilgrims from all over the country and it was the principal port for commerce with the Middle East. But after Begda's destruction, Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa declined as a port and Surat rose as a great entrepot.

CHAPTER XV

ANOTHER DESTROYER RISES AND ALSO A RESTORER

(Pl. XXXII)

By 1675[2] Hindu India was ready to overthrow the intolerable rule of the fanatic Aurangzeb. The South had risen under Shivājī; so had the Śikh Gurus and many Rajput chiefs in Rājasthān. In 1701, Prince Mohammad Azam, the 39th viceroy of Gujarat was ordered by Emperor Aurangzeb to destroy the temple of Somanātha 'beyond possibility of repairs.'[3] This despatch refers to a similar order issued at the

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII, p. 268.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 286.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 292.

beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. Evidently the earlier *Firman* of 1669 had not been carried out, or if carried out, had led to an immediate restoration of the Temple.

In the meantime, the Hindu Power in the South which Shivājī had founded was forcing its way into Gujarat, then ruled by the Moghul Emperors. As if it was a predestined coincidence, Aurangzeb's destruction of Somanātha in 1706 coincided with the rise of its avengers. In 1705 Dhanāji Jādhava had already defeated the Muslim army at the battle of Ratanpur,[1] the hold of the Moghuls was broken and the Hindu power was knocking at the doors of Saurāshṭra. As soon as Aurangzeb silenced the temple-bells of Somanātha, the victorious shouts of 'Har Har Mahādeva' rent the skies of Saurāshṭra. Dāmaji Gaikwad soon began to raid Saurāshṭra almost annually.[2] The temple was no longer used as a mosque or as a shrine, for it was in ruins. In a small temple outside the town, homage was paid to Somanātha Who attracted the pilgrims from Dwārakā.

Confusion prevailed in Gujarat. Several Hindu chiefs were up in arms against Delhi. The Marathas continued to raid Gujarat, extracting tribute from the Muslim chiefs, and soon became the masters in Gujarat. By 1738 the Maratha incursions into Saurashṭra increased. Sher Khān Bābi was, at the time, the deputy governor of the Moghul Emperors at Jūnāgadh.

The fortunes of war fluctuated between the viceroys of the Moghul Emperors and the Maratha chiefs. Ultimately in 1753 Ahmedabad was taken by the Marathas, to be recaptured by the viceroys in 1756, and to be lost to the Marathas again in 1759.[3] By 1759 the Hindu conquerors had obtained a complete hold over Saurāshṭra. In the meantime, the East India Company, which had become a great political power, stepped in to restore order in Saurāshṭra.

In A.D. 1783, Queen Ahalyā Bai of Indore finding the old ruins unfit for installing the deity, built a new temple at a little distance from the old temple *(pl. XXXII)*. To save it from destruction, the *Liṅga* was placed in a secret underground shrine immediately below the usual upper one.

The suzerainty of Saurashṭra passed into the hands of the Gaekwad of Baroda in about A.D. 1800.

In 1811, Hamid Khan, the Nawab of Jūnāgadh died and the right of succession to the Gadi of that State was settled by the Gaekwads in favour

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII p. 294.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 316.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 337 & 344.

of Bahadur Khan but the right to control and manage the new shrine of Somanātha was vested in the Gaekwad. In view of the attitude of the Nawabs towards the shrine, it was stipulated that no insult should be offered to Hindu religion in Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa; that no taxes should be levied on the Hindu pilgrims; that 2,000 koris should be paid annually by Jūnāgadh for the support of the clerk and to meet the expenses of the Temple.

The settlement known as *Kālambandi* was arrived at in 1813. Things went on smoothly till 1820. In that year, however, the sovereignty over Kāthiawār was transferred to the British who began to allow the Nawabs of Jūnāgadh to impose restrictions on pilgrims to the shrine.

In 1830, the Nawab of Jūnāgadh levied a tax called 'Chille', a wheel-tax on every cart engaged by pilgrims. The Government of Baroda objected to this levy and the money was refunded to the persons concerned. In 1838, 1841 and 1865, fresh attempts were made to levy taxes, but they all ended in failure. In 1873, Jūnāgadh State again tried to levy the tax 'Chille' on the ground that it was for the maintenance of roads and the protection of the pilgrims through Girnār, but the claim was rejected by the Political Agent, Kāthiawar. A fresh application was submitted by Jūnāgadh and the Political Agent upheld the latter's view that the tax, though in reality a tax on pilgrims, was not abolished by the *Kālambandi* of 1813. Jūnāgadh also levied fees for bathing in the sacred *Kuṇḍ*. The dispute was placed before the Governor-General who sided with the Nawab of Jūnāgadh and curtailed the power of the Gaekwads.[1]

The Baroda Government made representation to the Government of India to reconsider their decision, but the Governor-General-in-Council saw no reason to modify it and informed Baroda that he could not admit of any claim on the part of the Gaekwad to make representations to the British Government on behalf of the Hindu subjects of Jūnāgadh.

The Baroda Government then preferred two separate memorials to the Secretary of State for India in regard to Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa and *Prāchī Kuṇḍ*, but they were also rejected.[2]

The Hindus of Prabhāsa dared not protest against these interferences, and Baroda was technically held not entitled to speak in defence of the shrine which they had the right to manage. Baroda, however, was conceded the right to control and manage the temples.

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1 *Letters:* No. 9400 dated 2-9-'92 and No. 11616 dated 29-10-1891.

2 *Vide* Residency letter No. 8842 dated 11-7-96.

The conduct of the *pūjāri* of the temple was a subject of complaint on more than one occasion. Once he was found to take extra fees from worshippers. He was taken to Kodinar as a prisoner and was released only after he had given a written promise that he would act according to the orders of the Baroda Government. Jūnāgadh protested against the action of the Baroda authorities and maintained that Baroda had no right to dismiss or punish the *pūjāri*. On another occasion, the *pūjāri* stopped the worship altogether. The matter was placed before Jūnāgadh authorities but they said that the Agent of the Baroda Government should file a complaint in a Jūnāgadh Court and obtain redress. Later, the Political Agent settled the matter amicably.

CHAPTER XVI

A GREAT RESTORER RISES

(Pl. II)

As the British established their ascendancy over the country, the rights of the Gaekwads of Baroda over the temple were progressively ignored in favour of the Nawabs of Jūnāgadh. The self-laid policy of the Nawabs was to destroy the importance of Prabhāsa as a place of Hindu pilgrimage. By political pressure and communal aggressiveness, the Hindus of Prabhāsa, Verāval and even Jūnāgadh were slowly cowed down into passive acquiescence in the fate of their beloved shrines.

The Gaekwads could not, and the British would not, interfere, and even the temple of Ahalyā Bāi began to lose its glamour. Attempts on the part of the Hindus from inside or outside the State to take an interest in the Temple or in Dehotsarga were met with communal riots, and were later prohibited in the interests of communal peace. Even the Gaekwads were permitted to repair Ahalya Bai's temple only after protracted negotiations and sanctions extracted from the Nawabs of Jūnāgadh through the intercession of the Political Agent in Kathiawar.

In December 1922, accompanied by a young man, I went to see the shrine before the dawn broke. At that time, I was passing through an emotional crisis and my imagination was aflame with the past glories of Gujarat. We walked for some time on the sea-shore looking with subdued awe at the majestic ruins of the great temple silhouetted dark against the starry sky. I remembered our poet Nanalal's verse about Saurashṭra where 'the sea lashes against its pearly shores' *(pl. II)*. The

dawn broke; the aged hoary ruins of this once magnificent temple stood before me.

I went into the temple. On the dusty floor of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, on which once stood the noblest and the mightiest in India, a police sub-inspector had tied a pony!

Since my college days, I had dreamt of the vanished glories of Gujarat. Since 1910, I have dreamt and thought and written about Gujarat—one and indivisible—rising again in its pristine glory. In my first novel in 1915, I had found in 'Jai Somanāth' Gujarat's ancient battle cry. But at the plight of this shrine, I broke down.

With a heavy heart, we then went to Dehotsarga. I knew that for several years, the public of Saurāshṭra, supported by several influential Hindus all over India, had tried to have the *dharmaśālā* and the temple at Dehotsarga repaired. Their appeal, however, had been in vain.

I stood on the bank of the Hiraṇyā and gazed at the sacred spot where centuries ago, the greatest of men, Śrī Krishṇa had shuffled off His mortal coil. My heart was full of veneration and shame. Millions have worshipped, and worship today, Śrī Krishṇa as 'God Himself'. Thousands in every generation, had gained prestige or made money in His name or as His representatives on earth. But the nation had fallen low; none dared to raise his voice to rescue this sacred spot where once His mortal remains had been consigned to flames. I left Dehotsarga with bitter humiliation in my heart.

In 1937, at Pahlgaṁ in Kashmir, I wrote my novel, *Jaya Somanāth* with my eye 'in fine frenzy rolling.' I saw its grandeur as in A.D. 1024. I saw its ghastly destruction and I visualised its reconstruction under victorious Bhīmadeva. Reconstruction of Somanātha was then but the nebulous dream of a dreamer.

But things were moving fast. In 1942, India, under Gāndhiji, embarked upon its final struggle for independence. In 1946, the British decided to quit India; they were not content, however, to leave it as a united country. Partition had to be accepted before they left our shores. By the Independence Act, the country was fragmented and the Indian States let free from the bonds of paramountcy. India was, for all purposes, balkanised. But the compulsion of geography and the collective will of the Indian people were bent on consolidating the country. And this Will had its mighty instrument in Sardar Patel, who was to be the great Restorer of the shrine.

The Muslim Rulers of Indian States had their own dreams. Whatever their people thought, whatever the compulsion of geography, their eyes turned to Pakistan. One of them was the Bābi Nawab of Jūnāgadh.

Out of the total population of Jūnāgadh, eighty-two per cent. were Hindus. Its territory was not compact; it had several enclaves pertaining to the States which had acceded to India and ultimately integrated into Saurashṭra. By religion and culture, the State was Hindu; economically, it was an integral part of Saurashṭra. Since time immemorial, Prabhāsa, Girnār and Jūnāgadh, the birthplace of saint Narsiṁha Mehta, were places venerated by Hindus all over the country. Jūnāgadh, again, was the home of Rā' Khaṅgar and his queen Raṇak Devī—symbols of heroism enshrined in song and story in Western India.

Suddenly the people of Jūnāgadh were shocked to learn that their Nawab had acceded to Pakistan. A mighty wave of indignation swept not only over the people of Jūnāgadh, but on the whole of India.

The Kathiawar Political Conference took up the challenge. The people of Jūnāgadh took the unique and historic step of establishing a parallel Government. The *Ārzi Hakūmat* or the Provisional Government of Free Jūnāgadh, with Samaldas Gandhi, now one of the Trustees of the Somanātha Trust, at the head, denounced the action of the Nawab in acceding to Pakistan and published a Proclamation, which I had drafted.

DECLARATION BY THE SUBJECTS OF JUNĀGADH STATE

FORMATION OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

WHEREAS the Nawab of Junagadh has, against the declared wishes of an overwhelming majority of his subjects and under the influence of the agents of the Dominion of Pakistan, executed on 15th September 1947 an Instrument of Accession whereby the State is declared to have acceded to the Dominion of Pakistan ;

AND WHEREAS the Dominion of Pakistan has accepted the said Instrument of Accession in disregard of such declared wishes and in defiance of all natural ties which bind the people of Junagadh, (82% of whom are non-Muslims) to the people of Kathiawar and to the Dominion of India and in breach of the understanding on the basis of which certain parts of India were allowed to secede and form into a separate State of Pakistan; namely, that only contiguous areas predominantly inhabited by Muslims were to be included, into the Dominion of Pakistan, with the free and willing consent of the people inhabiting those areas ;

AND WHEREAS by his said act of executing the Instrument of Accession, the Nawab has purported to transfer the allegiance of the subjects of the State against their will to the Dominion of Pakistan so as to compel them to be nationals of Pakistan which is a state foreign to them and formed with the object of providing a national home for Muslims;

AND WHEREAS before and after the said purported Accession, the authorities of the State under the guidance of Pakistan, and in the name of the Nawab armed a section of the Muslims of the State with a view to terrorise the subjects of the State and to prevent them from claiming self-determination and voicing their antagonism to the Accession with the result that more than a hundred thousand of the subjects have already left

and many more are leaving the State every day and the State authorities are infiltrating the State territories with Muslim refugees;

WE THE SUBJECTS OF JUNĀGADH STATE HEREBY DECLARE that by transferring the allegiance of his subjects against their will to Pakistan and preparing for a reign of terror to coerce them to acquiesce in such transfer, the Nawab has forfeited his claim to the allegiance of his subjects ;

WE HEREBY FURTHER DECLARE that the Dominion of Pakistan in accepting the said Instrument of Accession of the Nawab has violated the principle of self-determination as also the aforestated understanding on which Pakistan was agreed to be formed and that therefore the said Instrument of Accession is null and void and not binding on the subjects of the State or the territories thereof ;

WE FURTHER DECLARE in exercise of our inherent right of self-determination our decision to accede to the Dominion of India and to join the territories of Junagadh State with the contiguous territories of the Dominion of India;

WE FURTHER DECLARE our firm and solemn resolve to adopt all such means and to take all such steps as may be necessary or incidental to the State of Junāgadh formally acceding to the Dominion of India and forming and remaining an integral part thereof :

In furtherence of our said solemn declaration and resolve we hereby appoint a Provisional Government consisting of:

1 Samaldas Laxmidas Gandhi,
(President)

2 Durlabhji Keshavji Khetani,

3 Bhavanishanker A. Oza,

4 Suragbhai Kalubhai Varu,

5 Manilal Sunderji Doshi,

6 Narendra Pragji Nathwani,

with all power, authority and jurisdiction heretofore vested in and exercised by the Nawab of Junāgadh prior to 15th September, 1947, over/and in relation to the said State of Junāgadh and all territories thereof and WE HEREBY AUTHORISE our said Provisional Government to take immediate steps for implementing and carrying out our said declaration and resolve and to exercise all power, authority and jurisdiction hereby conferred upon them.

AND WE HEREBY SOLEMNLY pledge our allegiance to the said Provisional Government and through it to the Dominion of India and call upon all the subjects of Junagadh State wherever resident to carry out loyally the orders and directions of the said Provisional Government.

The Provisional Government of Jūnāgadh moved to Saurashṭra and took possession of the Jūnāgadh House at Rajkot. Young men from all over Saurashṭra flocked to its banner of freedom. Large sums of money flowed in, volunteers were armed and trained. On the Dussehra Day, the 'Day of Victory'—October 24, 1947—the volunteers of the Provisional Government began their operations. People rose against the Nawab's rule in several parts of Jūnāgadh.

Several parts of the State fell into the hands of the Provisional Government. When the Nawab heard of it, he fled to Pakistan with his jewels, his wives and his dogs, leaving Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, his Prime Minister, a resident of Pakistan, to run the Government as best as he could. The volunteer-army of freedom advanced rapidly and was welcomed everywhere with enthusiasm.

Bhutto then wrote a letter to Buch, the Regional Commissioner of Saurāshṭra in the Government of India.

"Dear Mr. Buch.

After discussion with Mr. Samaldas Gandhi at Rajkot on October 1, Capt. Harvey Jones, senior member of Junagadh State Council, brought certain proposals for the consideration of the Council. The Council were prepared to accept them under protest but before a final decision could be communicated to Mr. Samaldas Gandhi it was thought necessary to ascertain the opinion of the leading members of the public. A meeting was therefore held this evening and the view of the leaders was unanimously expressed that instead of handing over the administration to the Indian Union through the so-called Provisional Government, it should be directly given over to the Indian Union, through the Regional Commissioner at Rajkot.

The Junagadh Government, therefore, has requested that in order to avoid bloodshed, hardship, loss of life and property and to preserve the dynasty, you should be approached to give your assistance to the administration particularly with a view to preserve law and order, which is threatened by aggressive elements from outside. This arrangement is sought pending an honourable settlement of the several issues involved in Junagadh's accession. We have already wired to His Excellency Lord Mountbatten, Mahatmaji, Prime and Deputy Prime Ministers of India, Hon'ble Abul Kalam Azad and the Governor-General and Prime Minister of Pakistan.

I hope you will kindly respond to this request.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- S. N. Bhutto.
Dewan, Junagadh."

While Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and myself were sitting in his house at night in Delhi, a telephone message was received from Buch that the Dewan of the Nawab had invited the Indian Army into Jūnāgadh. When he finished the telephone conversation, his face was beaming. He told me what the message was and smiled. My first thought, I expressed in these words: "So it is JAYA SOMANĀTH". Sardar smiled.

Next month, Sardar, accompanied by Jām Saheb and Kākāsaheb Gadgil, went to Jūnāgadh on November 12, 1947, the Diwali Day.

Jām Saheb told me his impressions. He accompanied the Sardar to the Temple premises. 'We then went down the steps to the sea. Sardar then took some water from the sea in his hands. He said to me: "My ambition is fulfilled". We silently returned and entered the Temple. All his worries were gone and a new light was reflected on Sardar's face.'

"We went," writes Kākāsaheb "to Jūnāgadh. From Jūnāgadh, we went to Verāval and on Kārtik Sud 1st, the New Year Day of Saṁvat 2004 we visited Somanāth.

"We saw the temple. While Sardar and I were having a little walk on the beach, I said to Sardar: 'I think the Government of India ought to re-build this Temple.'

"He said: 'Well, go ahead.'

"Then we two and the Jām Saheb came to the Temple and there in the presence of about 500 people, I announced:

" 'Government of India have decided to re-build this Temple and install the deity.

" 'This Government has come to fulfil and not to destroy. The age of reconstruction is now on.'

"Immediately after this, the Jām Saheb announced a donation of one lakh of rupees. Fifteen minutes later, a huge public meeting was held in the Ahalyā Bāi Temple where Sardar, in his speech, said:

> 'ON THIS AUSPICIOUS DAY OF THE NEW YEAR, WE HAVE DECIDED THAT SOMANĀTHA SHOULD BE RECONSTRUCTED. YOU, PEOPLE OF SAURĀSHṬRA, SHOULD DO YOUR BEST. THIS IS A HOLY TASK IN WHICH ALL SHOULD PARTICIPATE.' "

Jām Saheb gave the first donation of one lakh of rupees for the reconstruction. Sāmaldas Gandhi representing the Jūnāgadh administration followed with Rs. 51,000.

CHAPTER XVII

AS I SAW IT

(Fig. I and pls. I, V-XII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVIII and XXIX)

In January of 1948, at the invitation of Śāmaldas Gandhi, the Gujarati Sāhitya Parishad was held at Jūnāgadh under my presidentship. Literary Gujarat had gathered at the native town of her greatest poet Narsi Mehta. My joy knew no bounds. My dream of Gujarat was coming true, and in my lifetime too.

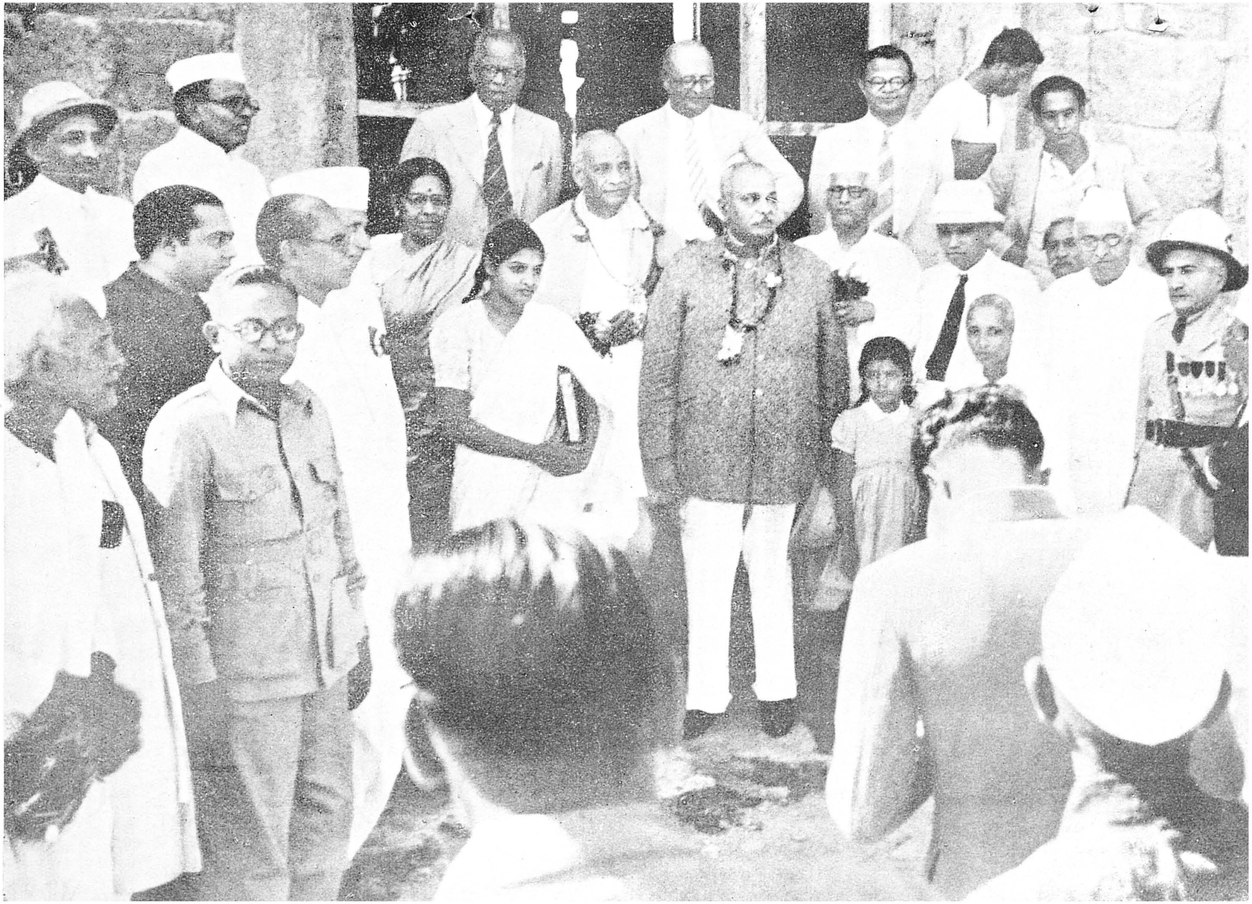
From Jūnāgadh the literary conference made a pilgrimage to Somanātha. Jām Saheb was with us (pl. XXIII).

When I saw the temple of Somanātha in detail, I stood awe-struck. Some of the old structures—*garbhagṛha* (inner shrine), part of *pradakshiṇa mārga,* (the circumambulatory passage), *antarāla,* (the intermediate corridor) and the *gūḍha maṇḍapa* (central hall) with its three domes were all there. The *gūḍha maṇḍapa* was partly covered by a mosque-like dome (pls. I, IX and X).

The pillars were connected by sculptural brackets in lintels, now partly broken. The pillars in the central *aṣṭāṅsh* (eight divisioned area) of the *gūḍha maṇḍapa* stood thirty-five feet apart from each other. Remnants of the *śikhara* (spire) of the temple lay to the west. The sculptured images were found preserved at a few places. There were courses with disfigured images at the place where the *garbhagṛha* was connected with the *maṇḍapa* (pls. XI, XXIX and XXV). In the north there were horizontal courses of the *mahāpīṭha* comprising elephants, horses and men (pls. IX, XII, XXVIII and XXIX). Above it was a course of *kuṁbha* but in broken condition. Some upper courses were also preserved on the south side. Pillars of the front door, one pillar of the south door and the outward pillars of the *pradakshiṇa mārga* were also standing (pls. I and V-VIII). A part of the floor of the *maṇḍapa* as well as the *garbhagṛha* had been broken up. Outside the *gūḍha maṇḍapa* was the flooring of the *Meghanāda Maṇḍapa* constructed by Bhīmadeva II. B. K. Thapar of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, conducted a short but intensive excavation there and brought to light abundant evidence of the material remains of the earlier temples buried below (below pp. 71-90). A few stone slabs with letters carved on them were found during the excavations.

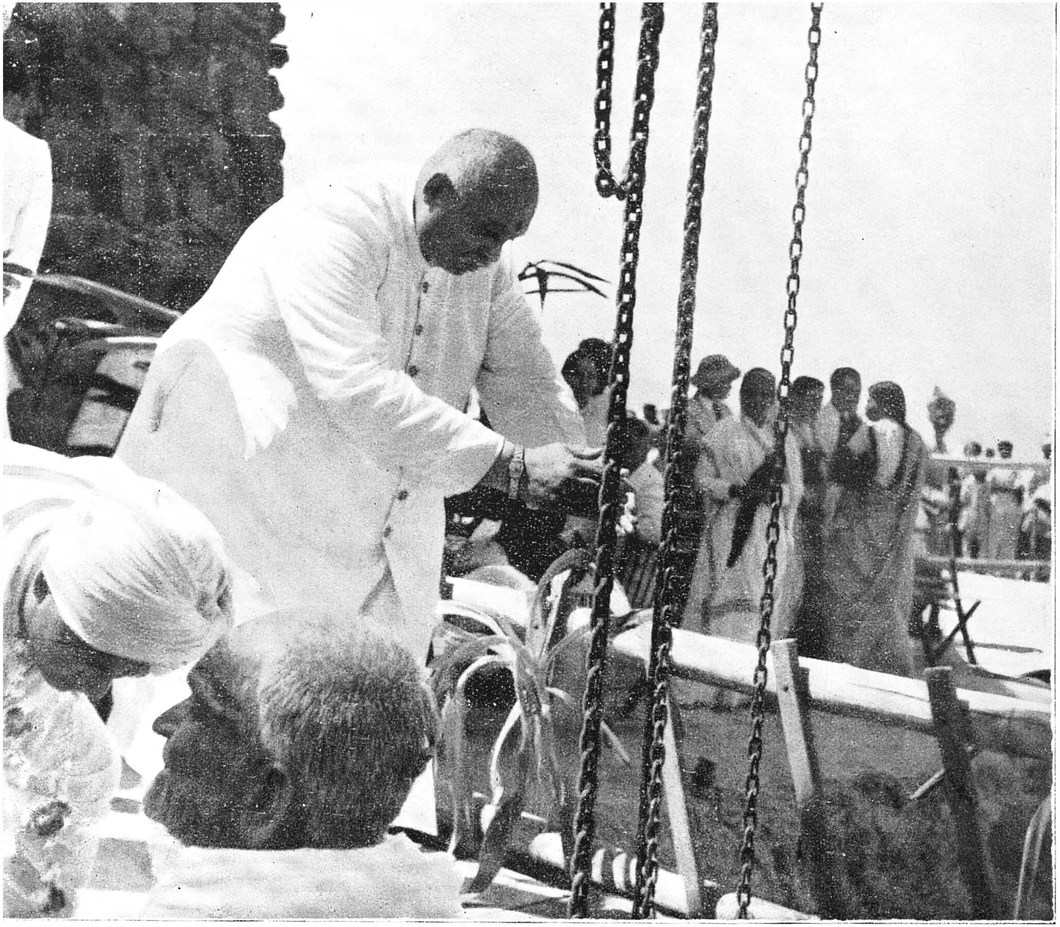
On excavation, some carved stone pieces meant for the *śikhara* of an older temple were also found in the lowermost foundation of the temple. Stones of older temples were also found used in the repairs of the later ones. Certain stones used in the *śikhara* carved on one side were used in the plinth after a fresh carving had been made on the other side. Some steps carved on both sides showed that they were used for different parts of different temples. Some bricks 18 in. x 12 in. x 3 in. and 21 in. x 10.5 in. x 4 in., yellowish in colour, were found below the *yonipat,* the circular stone base round the *Liṅga* of Somanātha in the *garbhagṛha.* It was difficult to say what these bricks were used for. In the old structure no material to cement the stones appeared to have been used; they were

PLATE XXII A



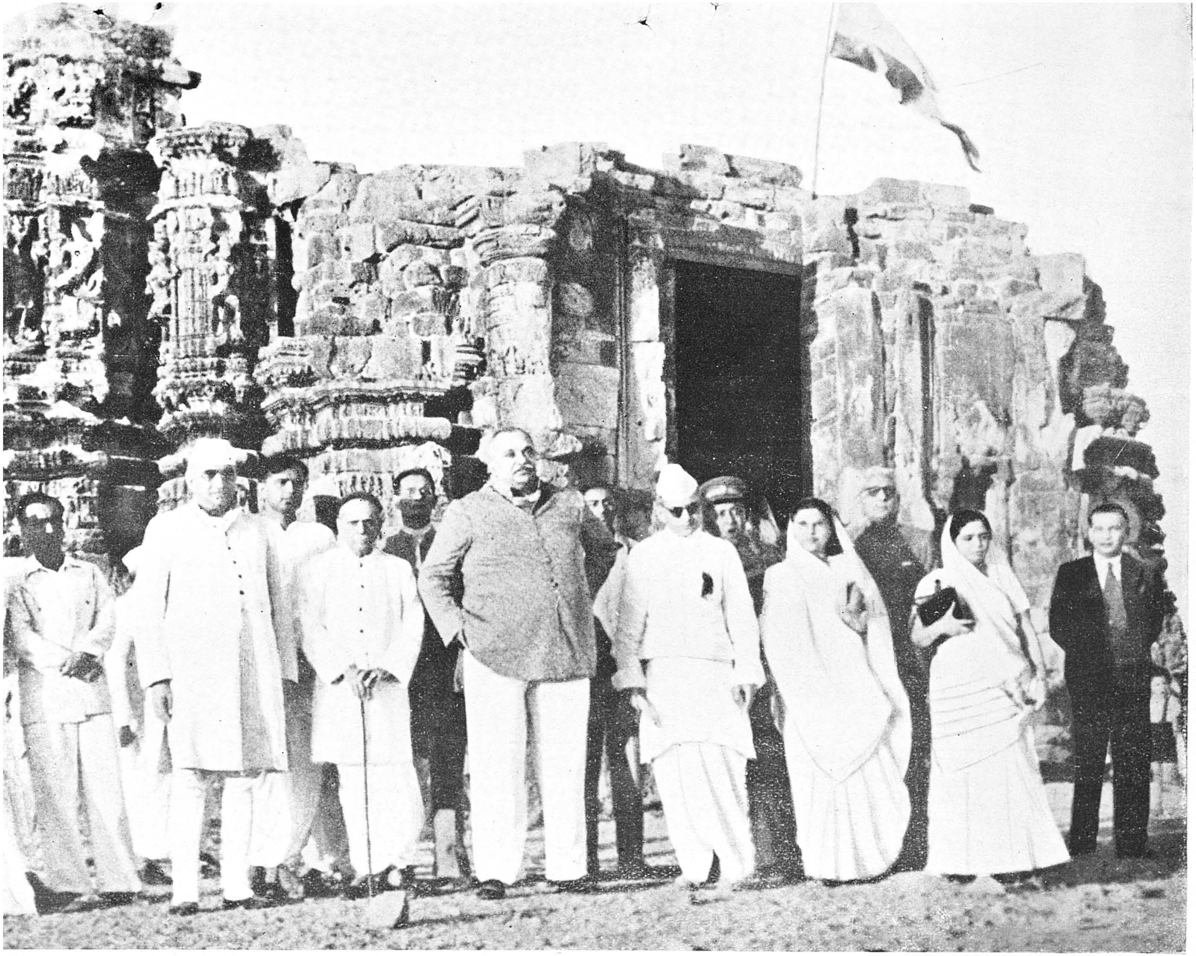
Sardar Patel taking the pledge

PLATE XXII B



Jām Saheb laying the foundation stone of the New Temple

PLATE XXIII



Group photograph taken on the occasion of the visit to Somanātha of H. H. the Jām Saheb, K. M. Munshi and others

PLATE XXIV

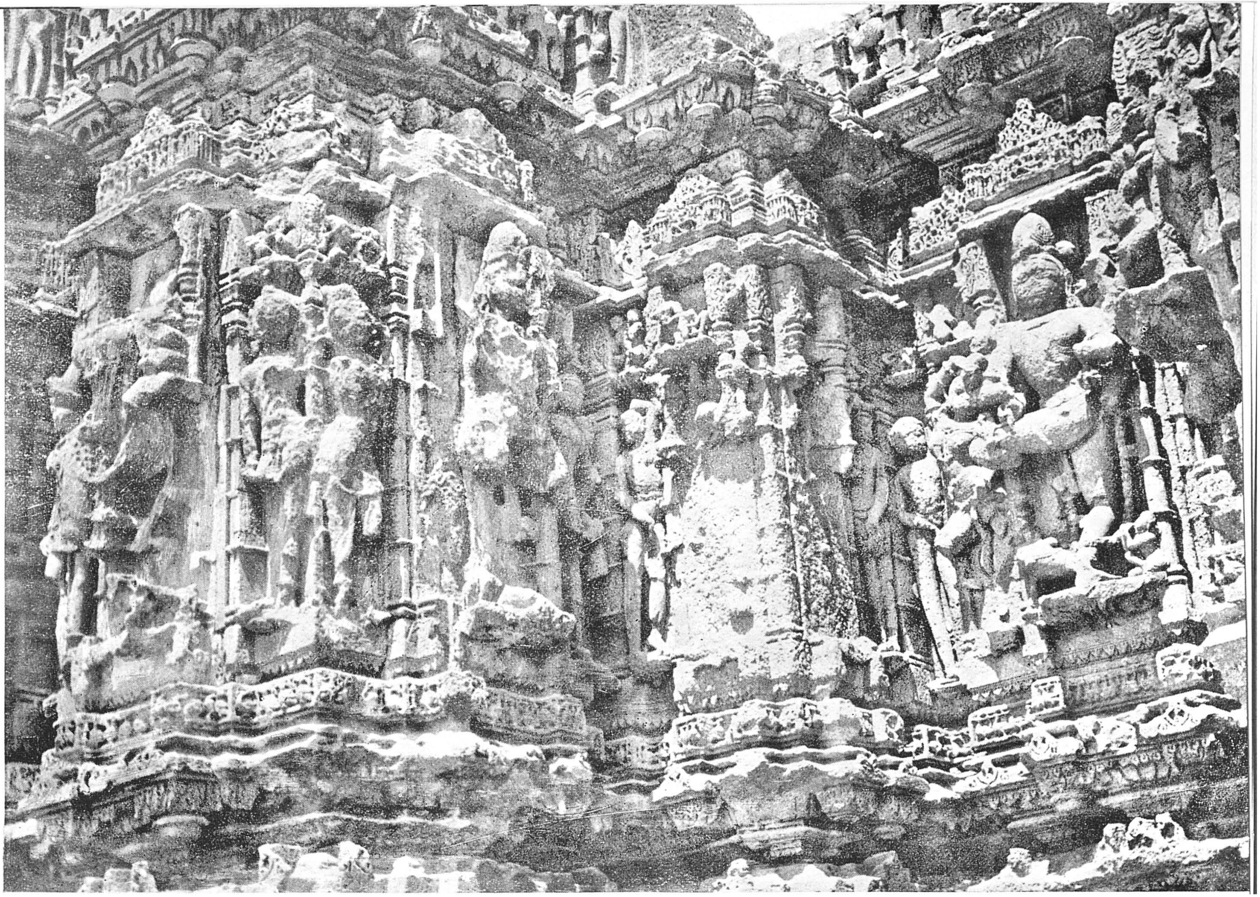
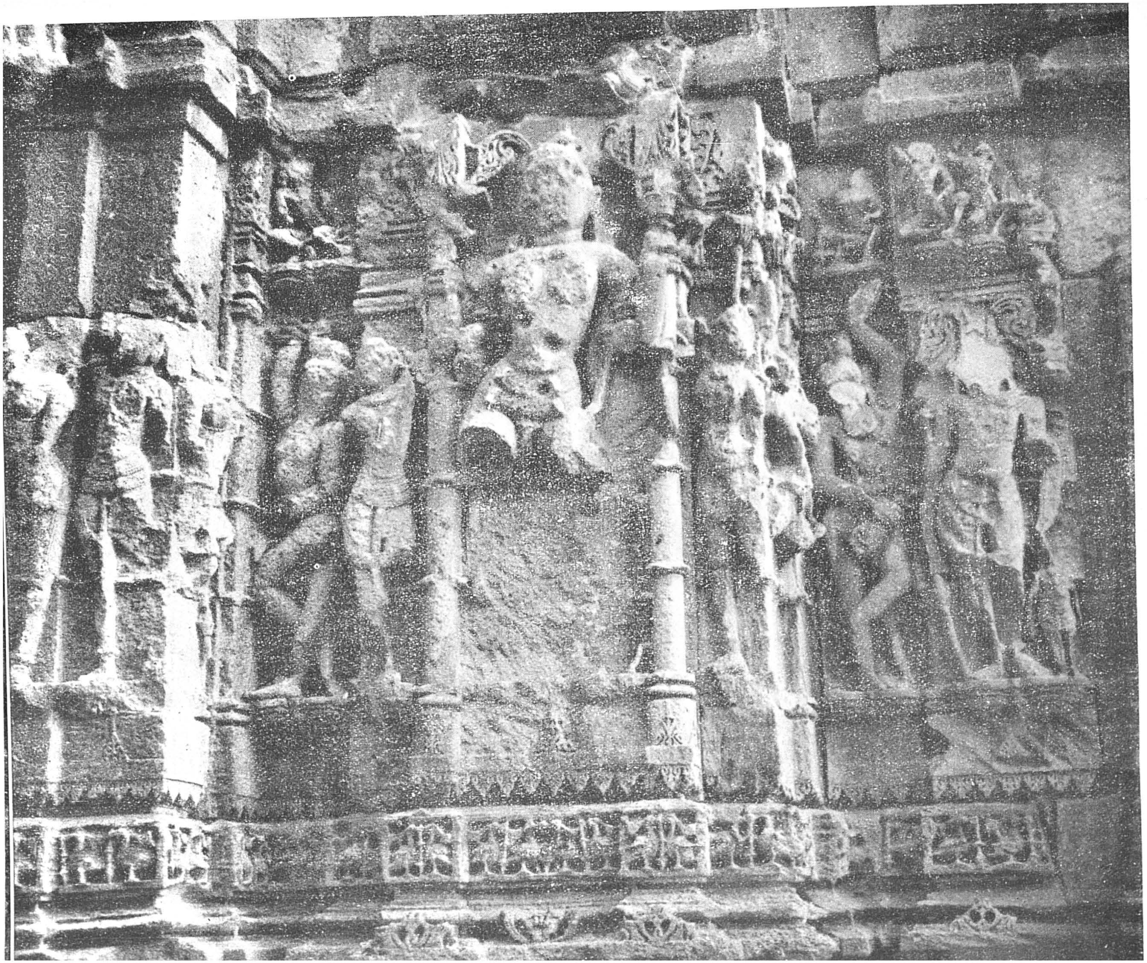
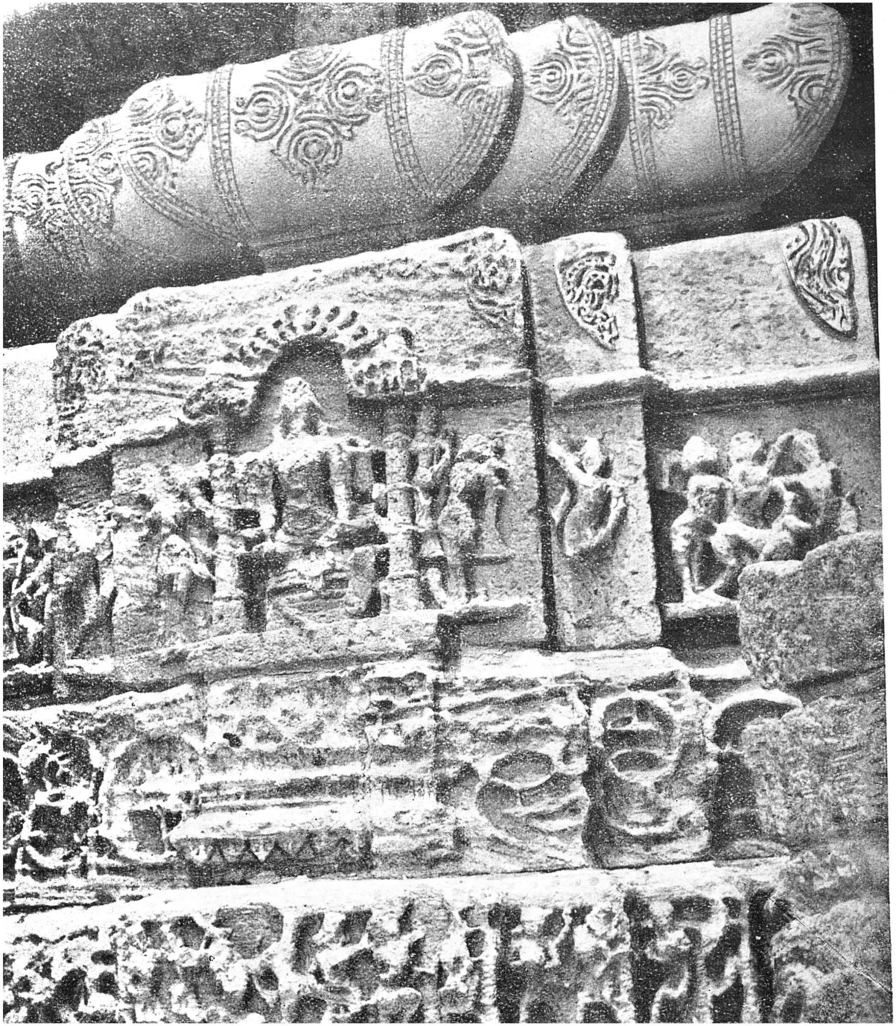


PLATE XXV



Somanātha: closer view of the battered sculptures in the pradakṣiṇa mārga along the northern face of the garbhgṛha

PLATE XXVI

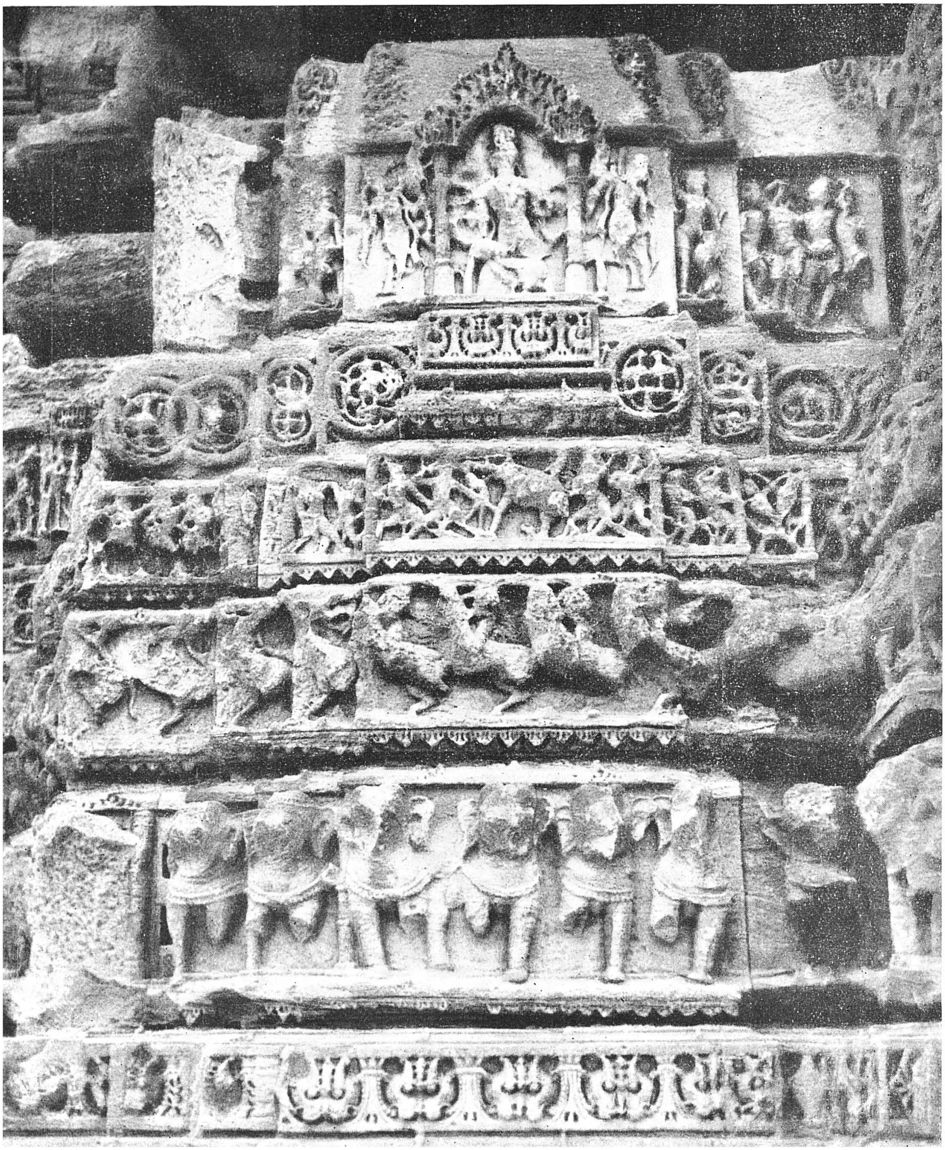


Somanātha: close-up showing corrosion by salt on the sculptures

Somanātha: close-up of a part of the plinth along the southern face of the temple showing the action of salt and moisture

PLATE XXVII

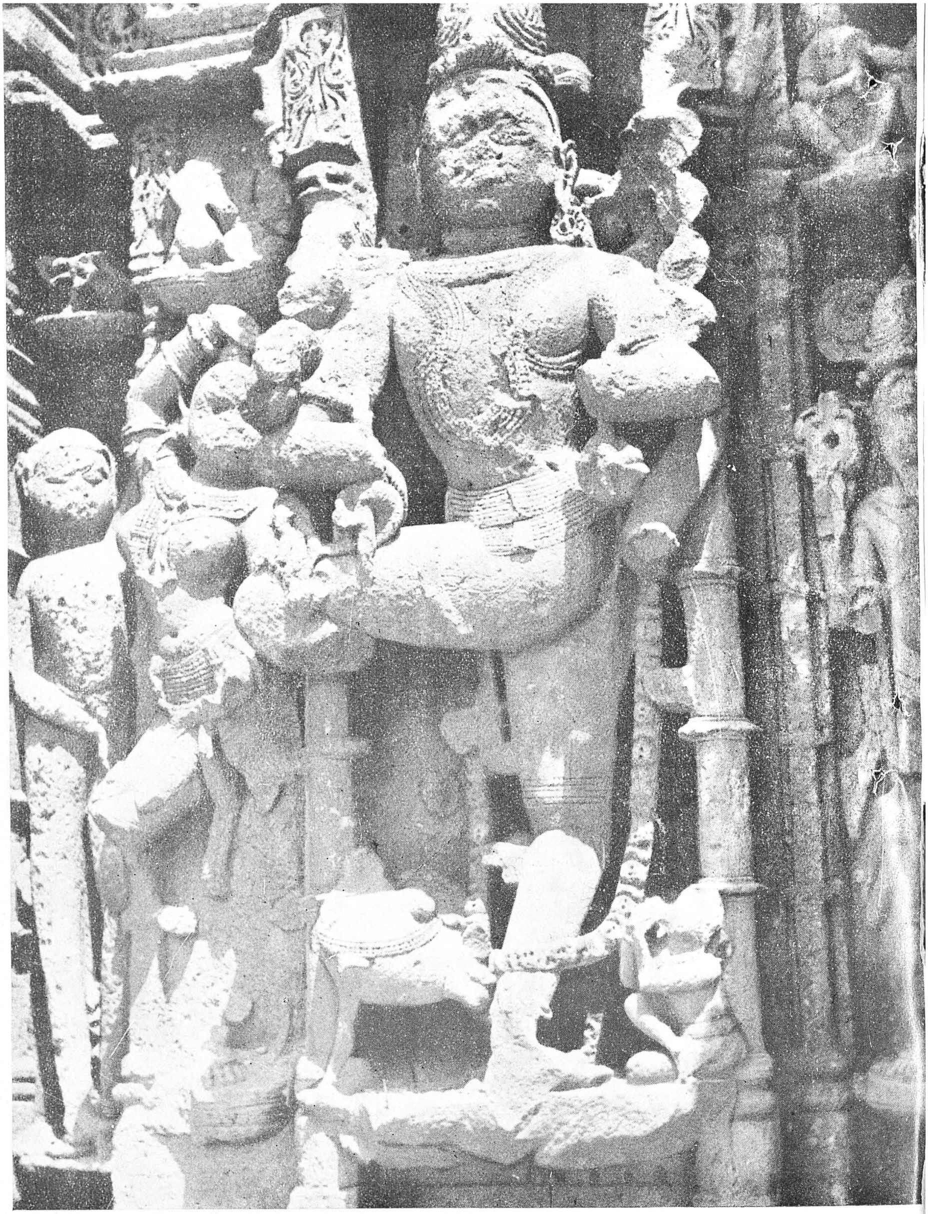
PLATE XXVIII



Somanātha: detailed view of string courses of Kīrtīmukhas, elephants, horses and men

PLATE XXIX

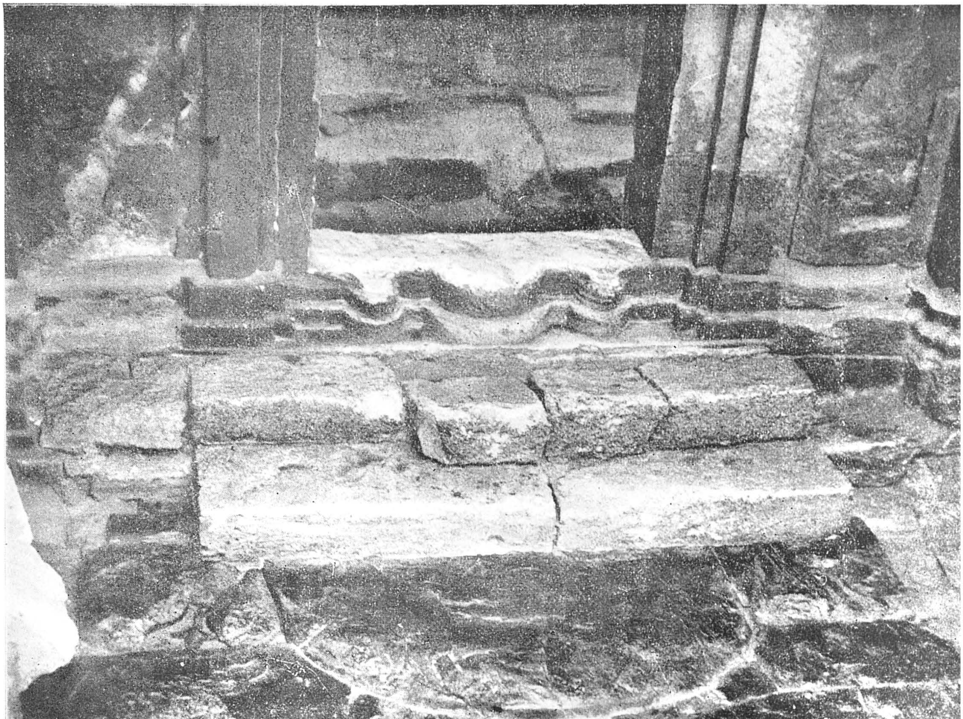
Somanātha: detailed view of the temple mahāpīṭha comprising the sthiraśilā, the kīrtīmukhas, the gajathara, the aśvathara and the narathara

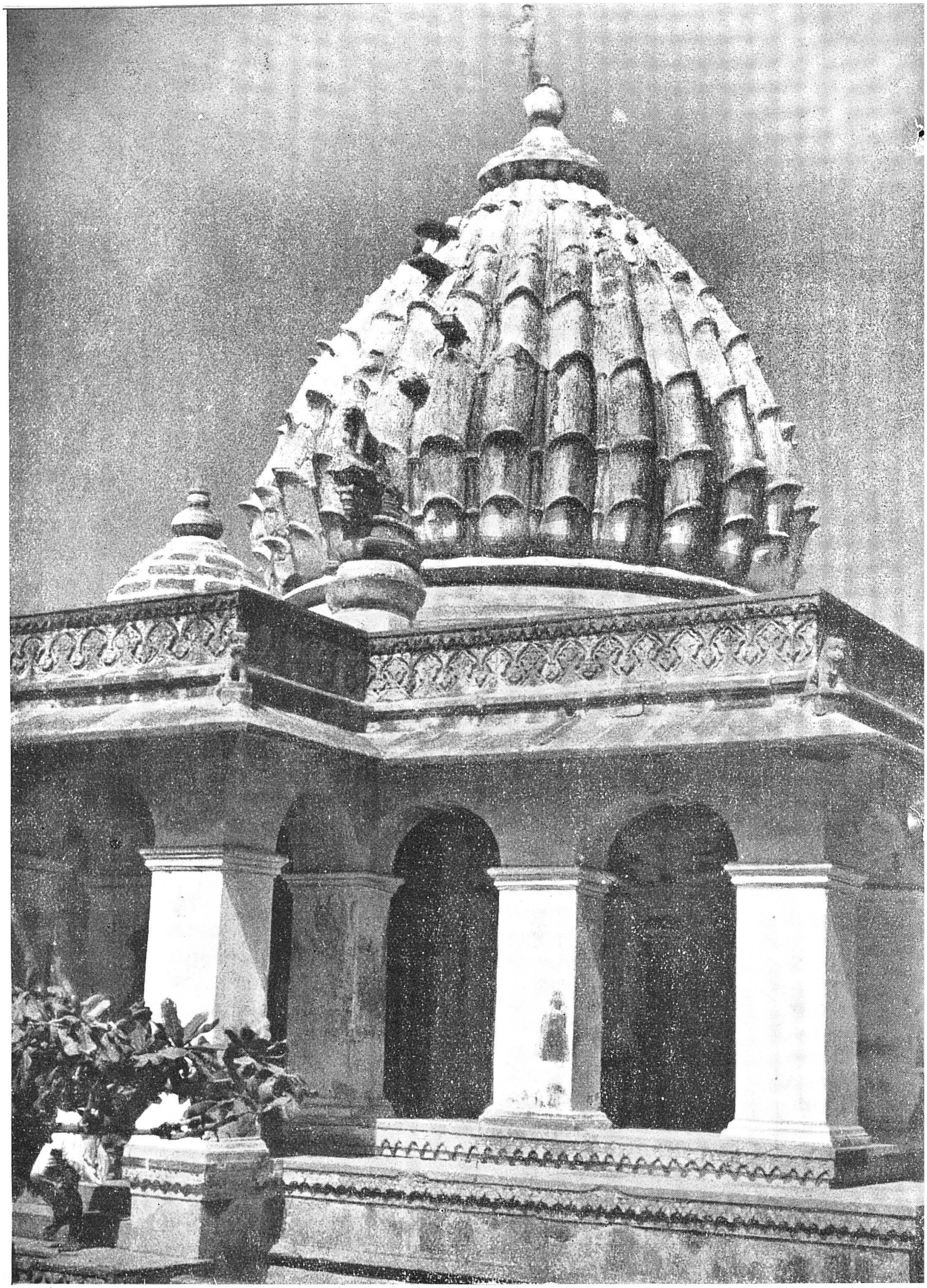


Somanātha: detailed view of a mutilated image of Śiva Naṭarāja

PLATE XXXI

Somanātha: closer view of the garbhagṛha door-step showing the black stone chandraśilā flanked on either side by a conch and a conventionalised tortoise and the later contracted door-frame with two steps partly superimposed on the earlier chandraśilā





A close view of the Ahalya Bāi temple PLATE XXXII

so well set that there was no need for a cementing material. But at places some strong cementing substance was also noticed.

Idols of various gods, animals and birds artistically carved, and carvings of dancing girls exhibiting various poses and emotions, images of men and women with drapings of the tenth and eleventh centuries were also found in the débris lying to the north. The carvings of dancing girls were in the *tribhaṅga, dvibhaṅga* and *atibhaṅga* poses; a few of them were carved standing erect. There was also found a stone slab with Brāhmī script of the Valabhī period (6th and 7th century). Names of the craftsmen were carved on almost every stone.

In spite of the passage of eight centuries, the foundation had not sunk at any place. The foundation of the *garbhagṛha,* when excavated, was found to be laid on sand at a depth of over 13 feet from the outside ground level; the *brahmaśilā,* however, was placed upon a square masonry going down as deep as the foundations themselves and filled with rubble and stones to prevent it from sinking into the sand (fig. 1).

On both the sides, sand had accumulated round the temple. Its sea-wall was broken. Lord Curzon had named it an ancient monument; he had got the western wall repaired; and under his orders was raised a compound-wall as well. On the north side were a few huts of scavengers. The area to the east was full of recently built houses—most of them found later to have been built on the plinth of the temples (pl. XL). Only the old temple of Gaṇapati stood intact though the idol was recent.

Centuries of vandalism had left nothing but traces of this great temple to testify to its ancient grandeur.

CHAPTER XVIII

PLANNING: UNIVERSITY OF SANSKRIT

In the beginning, some persons, more fond of dead stones than live values, pressed the point of view that the ruins of the old temple should be maintained as an ancient monument. We were, however, firm in our view, that the temple of Somanātha was not an ancient monument; it lived in the sentiment of the whole nation and its reconstruction was a national pledge. Its preservation should not be a mere matter of historical curiosity.

Some of my scholar friends had hard things to say about me for my 'vandalism'. They forgot that I am fond of history, but fonder still of creative values.

When the question was pressed by the Archaeological Department, Sardar expressed his views as follows:— (9-8-1948)

> "........The Hindu sentiment in regard to this temple is both strong and widespread. In the present conditions, it is unlikely that, that sentiment will be satisfied by mere restoration of the temple or by prolonging its life. The restoration of the idol would be a point of honour and sentiment with the Hindu public."

At that stage it was considered that the restoration of the idol would not interfere with the maintenance of the old temple. The specialists, on scrutiny, found that the ruins were salt-eaten and irreparable (pls. XXVI and XXVII), nor could they stand a spire. Religious injunctions also stood in the way of installing the deity in ruins which could not be renovated as prescribed. It was, therefore, finally decided to rebuild the temple.

On December 13, 1947, the Standing Committee of the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power of the Government of India approved of the idea and Gadgil instructed his Consulting Architect to visit Prabhāsa. Though the Government of India sponsored the scheme, Sardar decided that the Government should not make any contribution in the form of money for the reconstruction of the temple.

On December 25, 1947, the States Ministry decided to request the Jūnāgadh authorities to lease a sufficiently large area around the temple for development on these lines.

On January 23, 1949, a conference was held at Jāmnagar attended by Sardar and Gadgil with Jām Saheb, Uchhrangrai Dhebar, Chief Minister of Saurāshṭra and Sāmaldas Gandhi, Administrator of Jūnāgadh. The Trust, it was then decided, was to consist of two representatives of donors; two eminent public men; two representatives of the Government of India; and two representatives of the Government of Saurāshṭra Union (of whom one would be from Jūnāgadh).

The Board of Trustees were to be assisted by an Advisory Committee, the composition of which was to be settled by the Government of India. The objects of the Trust were to include 'not only the rebuilding and the maintenance of the Somanātha Temple itself and its auxiliary institutions, the renovation of Dehotsarga where Lord Śrī Krishṇa parted

with His body, but also the general improvement of the neighbourhood so as to restore its atmosphere of sanctity.' I was instructed to prepare the Trust Deed.

My view was that a temple by itself would not be enough in these days of cultural resurgence, nor did the authoritative tradition of a great temple permit its dissociation from a centre of learning. If the temple was to be a real centre of attraction for the country, it should have close association with an All-India Sanskrit University and should also have a suburb where people could come either for health, study or for rest, and a *gośālā*. I therefore submitted a note to Sardar regarding a scheme for an All-India Sanskrit University. It runs as follows:—

"There are no less than ten thousand *Pāṭhaśālas* in India in which Sanskrit education is imparted according to the old Indian style. These institutions are generally supported by public charity and apart from training students in rituals and other branches of ancient Indian learning, keep alive Sanskrit as a living force in the country.

"There are a few centres in India holding examinations for the title of *Śāstrī* and *Āchārya,* which are recognised all over India. The principal among them in North India are the Queen's College, Banaras, and the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. In Western India, as far as I know, the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan is the only institution which confers such academic titles. In the South, there are more than one such institution, Tirupathi being the most prominent. Some of the Universities also confer titles.

"Roughly speaking, Sanskrit education in India today follows two methods :

(i) the critical and historical method following modern methods of research, which is being adopted by the Universities;

(ii) the scholastic method now being followed by the *Pāṭhaśālās.*

It is the latter method which makes Sanskrit not a dead classical language like Greek or Latin, but a living language spoken by thousands.

"Several attempts have been made to establish an All-India Sanskrit University which would co-ordinate the methods of Sanskrit education in the country. Some enthusiasts, four years ago, made an attempt at Agra which, however, did not succeed. Babu Sampurnananda is recently trying to convert the Banaras Sanskrit College into a sort of University.

"Nothing tangible, however, so far seems to have been achieved. It is of the highest importance to the country that there should be an All-India institution which, while preserving the best in the old methods followed by the *Pāṭhaśālās,* will re-orientate the out-of-date courses and keep alive the inspiration of Sanskrit and all it stands for in the life and learning of the country. It must not be forgotten that if these institutions are allowed to die, it would not only be a serious and irreparable loss to learning and culture, but will tend to lower the standard of morals and outlook in the whole country. We would, besides, have allowed one strong bulwark against the devastating progress of materialism to crumble. It is, therefore, suggested that there should be an All-India Sanskrit University conducted by the Centre.

"It is suggested that such a University should be established at Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa in Saurāshṭra. Prabhāsa where the temple of Somanātha stands, rose into all-India reputation, as a sacred place, contemporaneously with, if not earlier than, Kāśī. In the cultural history of India, the place is doubly sacred. The temple of Somanātha is situated there and a new temple is going to replace the relics of the old one. It is also the place where Lord Śrī Krishṇa left His body wounded by the arrow of a hunter. Once there is a University of Somanātha, its ancient associations will be revived. The shore on which Prabhāsa stands is one of the most picturesque places in India. The association of a Sanskrit University with Prabhāsa, therefore, will create for India a new cultural centre.

"It must not be forgotten that upto the 13th century, Somanātha was worshipped throughout India as a deity of equal importance with Kāśī Viśvanātha. From the 4th or 5th century, it was one of the greatest seats of learning, presided over by the great teachers of the Pāśupata cult of Śaivism, which exercised its influence in the whole of India. During the Mughal period, even Muslim merchants going by the port of Prabhāsa used to make offerings at the shrine. It is only a few miles from the port of Veraval and from the Keshod airport. Quite a large number of foreigners are now coming out to India with a view to study its culture. A place where Sanskritic learning is co-ordinated with modern learning will attract attention all over the world.

"The Indian Princes of Saurāshṭra and Rājasthān have continued to lavish their patronage to the *Pāṭhaśālās* in these areas. Almost every little place of importance has a *Pāṭhaśālā.* In Jaipur, there is a very good Sanskrit College. Jalore, Śrīmal and Siddhpur, once seats of

learning, have also some remnants of Sanskritic learning. In Gujarat, *Pāṭhaśālās* are being slowly eliminated but in Mahārāshṭra there are quite a large number of them. I have no doubt that these *Pāṭhaśālās* will come to be affiliated to the University.

"For an All-India Sanskrit University, to start with, we must have fifty lakhs of rupees for non-recurring expenditure and four to five lakhs of rupees per annum for recurring expenditure. The Government of India and the Governments of Saurāshṭra, Rājasthān, Madhya Bhārat and Bombay may be approached to contribute substantially. A mere parochial institution confined to Western India is of no value; to be a world asset, it must be an All-India University. If properly approached, I have no doubt that even other Provincial and State Governments in India will make a substantial grant for this purpose. The Saurāshṭra Government has already promised to acquire for the Somanātha Temple a very large tract of land and it will not be difficult to house the University in that area."

Sardar approved of the idea and it was incorporated in the Trust Deed.

CHAPTER XIX

PREPARATION — ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND THE TRUST

On February 15, 1949, the States Ministry issued a directive that it was no longer necessary for the Temple or any land in Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa to vest in the Government of India. The Temple and the land which were then in the jurisdiction of the Saurāshṭra Government, Jūnāgadh having merged in the meantime, and such property rights as were considered necessary for the proper fulfilment of the Trust, would later vest in the Trustees.

The draft Trust Deed, which required considerable amendments, was directed to be sent back to me. The objects were specified in the direction as not merely to restore and reconstruct the Temple and the idol, but to improve the surroundings and set up such institutions as may restore the sanctity of Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa and its surroundings. This was to include the construction of rest houses for the pilgrims and setting up of educational institutions for Sanskrit. The Trust was also to attend to the restoration of places like Dehotsarga—the place where Śrī Krishṇa cast off His body. It was also directed that the Government of India as such would not finance the reconstruction, but could have representation on the Trust.

Soon after, I prepared the draft Trust Deed.

The Advisory Committee appointed by the Government of India consisted of C. M. Master, Architect; J. C. Ghosh; Prabhaśaṅkar O. Sompura, one of the hereditary architects of Somanātha; U. J. Bhatt, Chief Engineer of Saurāshṭra Government; B. S. Vyas; G. B. Deolalikar, Consulting Architect of the Central P.W.D.; S. K. Joglekar, Town Planning Officer of the C.P.W.D.; with myself as Chairman and N. P. Chakravarti, then Director-General of Archaeology as Convenor. We started working on July 30, 1949. Under our instructions, Prabhāśaṅkar Sompura, with his wide knowledge of the ancient art of temple building, prepared a plan of the new Temple on the style of the old one.

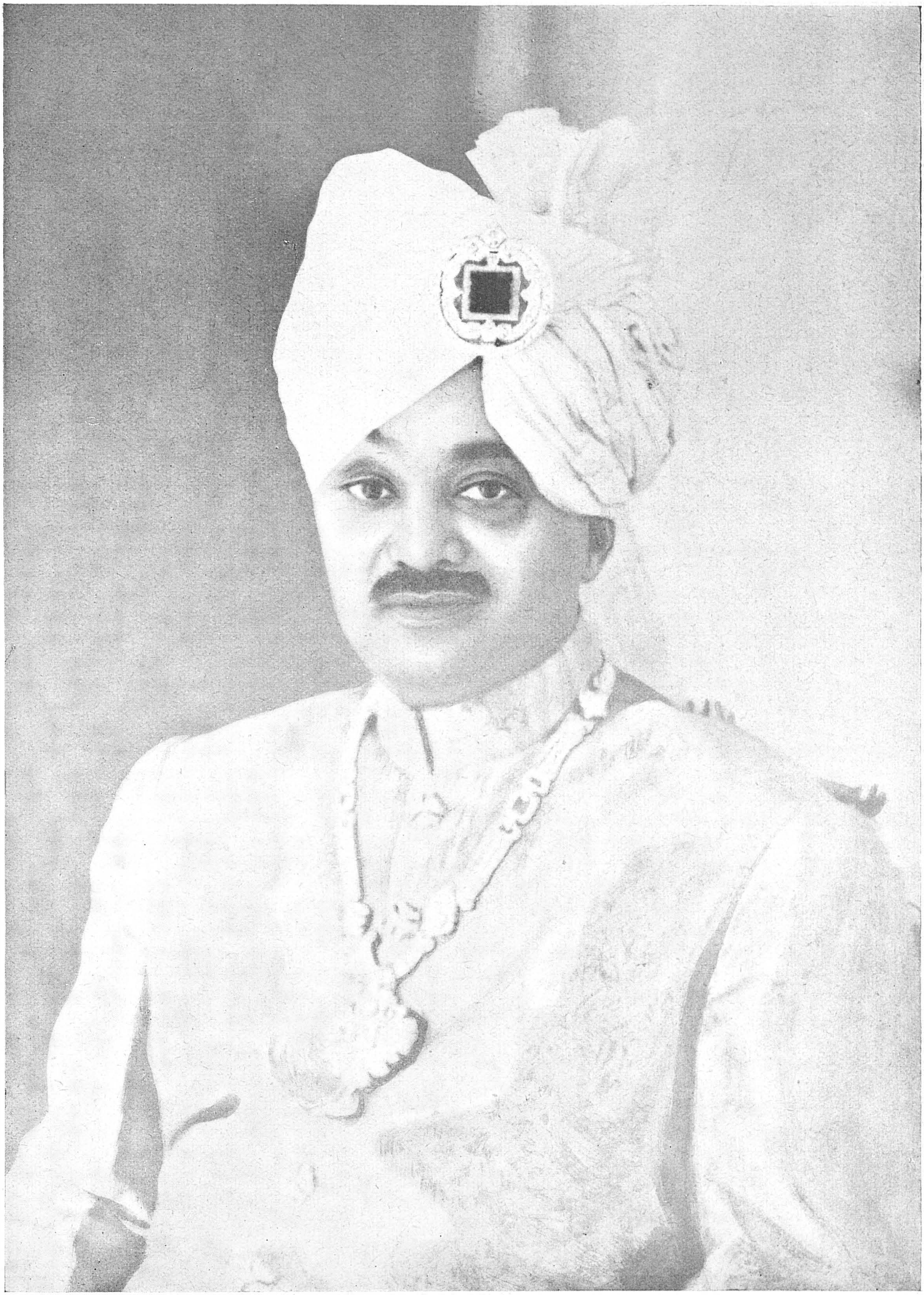
On October 18, 1949, Sardar nominated the first Trustees.

Jām Saheb and Sāmaldas Gandhi were to represent Saurāshṭra Government. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and Power and D. V. Rege, Regional Commissioner of Saurāshṭra at Rajkot were appointed as nominees of the Government of India. Brijmohan Birla and myself were appointed as representatives of the general public. Two vacancies were kept for future donors. Though not officially a Trustee, U. N. Dhebar, Chief Minister of Saurāshṭra, has been more than a Trustee, aiding, guiding and implementing all the activities of the Trust with rare conscientiousness.

Sardar's message to Jām Saheb of Nawanagar, which was conveyed in a D. O. letter, dated November 22, 1949, from V. P. Menon, then Secretary, States Ministry is as follows:—

> "Your Highness will recollect that you handed over to me a cheque for Rs. 1,00,000/- (One lakh) some time ago which I returned to you. I am now writing to suggest that this amount may be paid as a donation to the Somanātha Fund. Somanātha is an ancient heritage of ours, and we have to take every care to see that the temple and its environments are maintained in a manner worthy of their ancient traditions. For this purpose, we propose to constitute a Trust. Your Highness will remember that Sardar made an appeal for funds for the Somanātha Trust sometime ago. The object, therefore, is one which deserves full support from all patriotic Indians and that is why I am making this suggestion. I shall be grateful for a line in reply."

By the end of 1949, about Rs. 25 lakhs were collected. The Trust Deed was finally approved by the Government of India and Saurāshṭra Government and was executed on March 15, 1950.

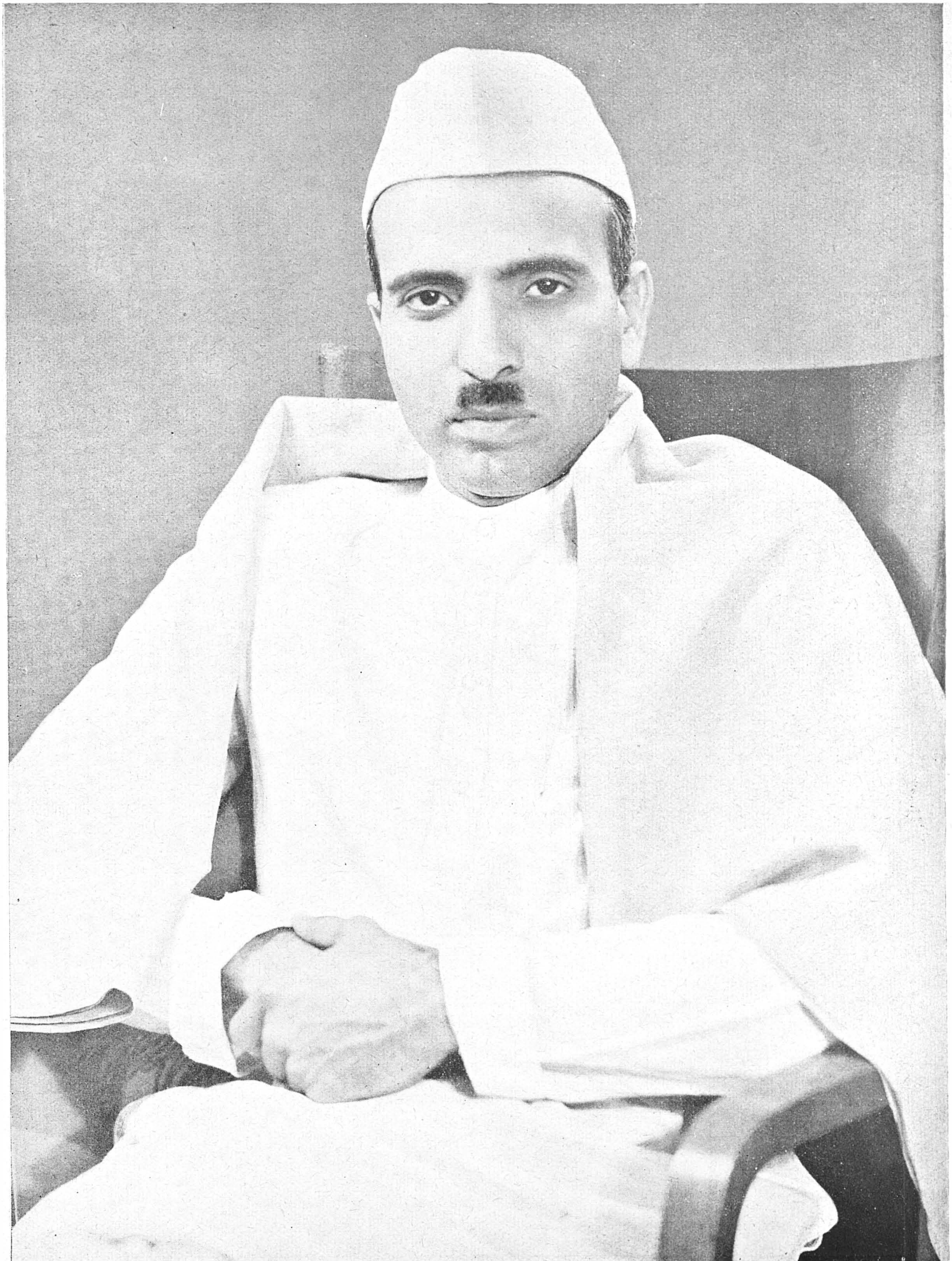


H. H. Maharaja Shri Digvijaysinhji, Rajpramukh of Saurashtra

H. H. Shri Padmanabha Dasa Bala Rama Varma, Rajpramukh of Travancore-Cochin, who presides over the Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, one of the items of the Somanātha celebrations

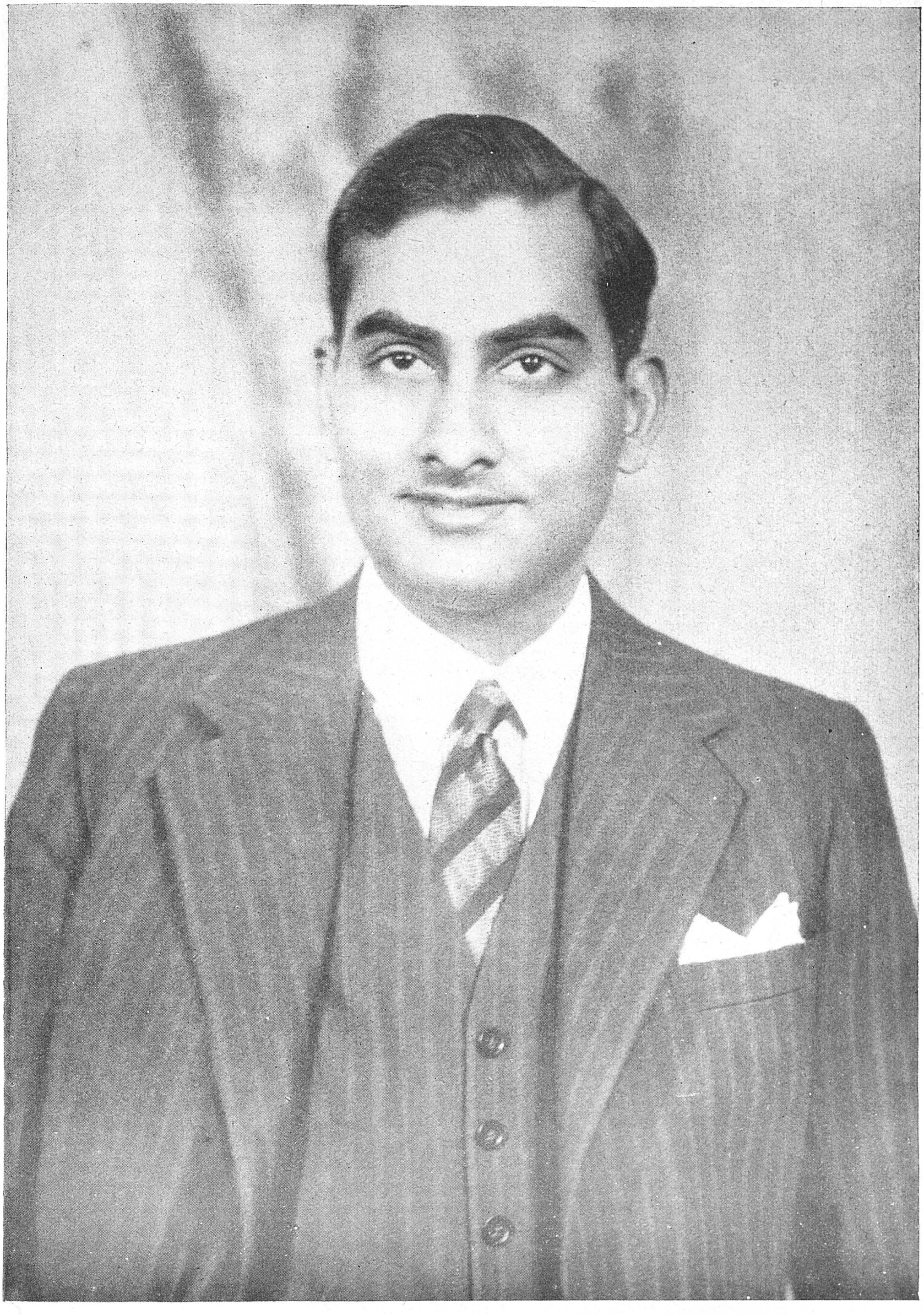
N. V. Gadgil

K. M. Munshi

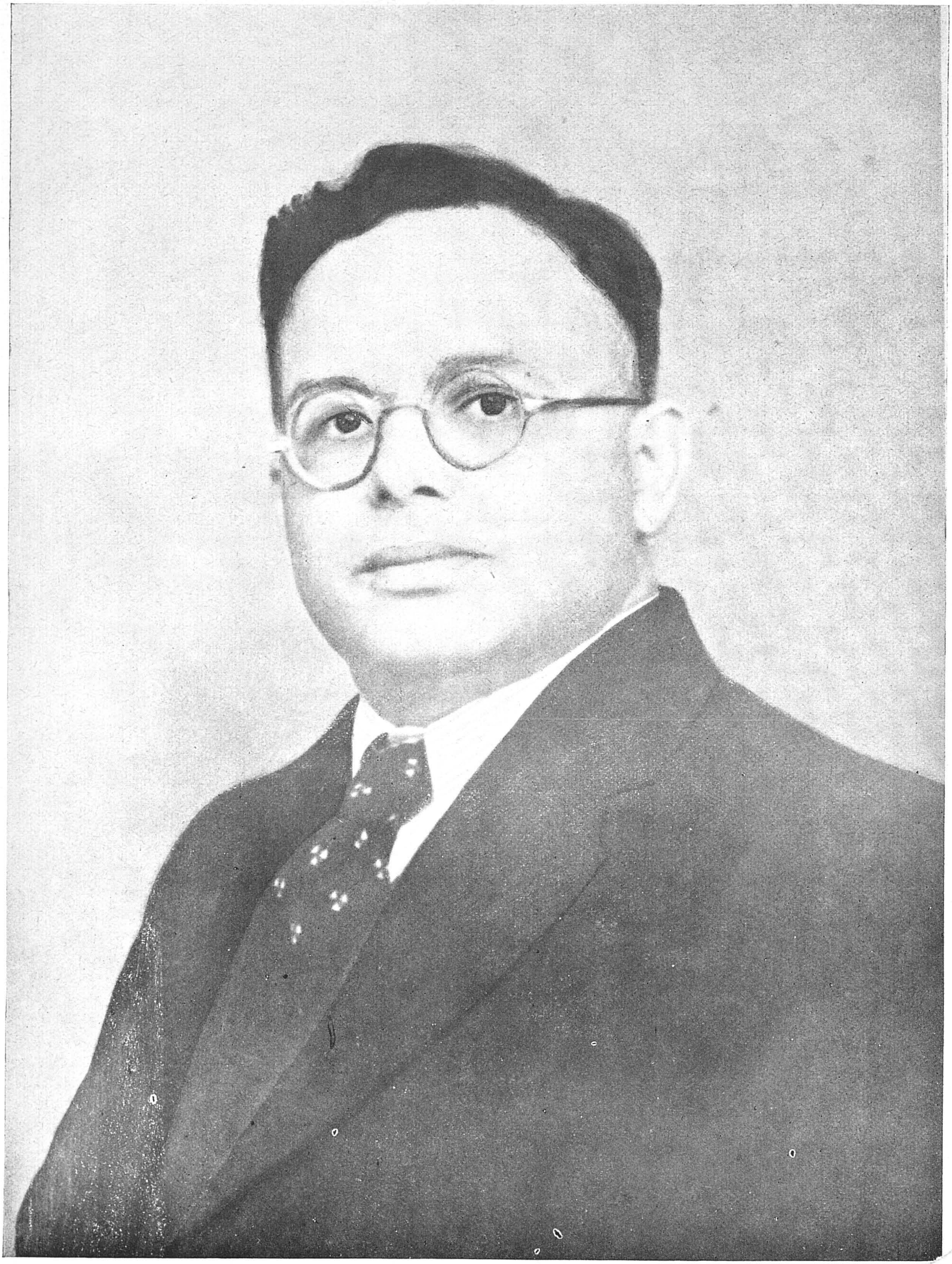


U. N. Dhebar

Samaldas Gandhi



B. M. Birla



D. V. Rege

The objects of the Trust were fully thus defined :

"(a) Upon trust to restore and reconstruct the said Temple of Somanātha in such manner as may be determined in consultation with an "Advisory Committee" to be constituted as hereinafter provided and to incur the necessary expenses in connection therewith;

(b) Upon trust to instal or cause to be installed in the Temple of Somanātha one or more idols of Śiva and other deities as are objects of worship by the Hindu community;

(c) Upon trust to hold rituals, ceremonies and celebrations, necessary for or connected with or incidental to the shrine of the deity referred to in clauses (a) and (b);

(d) Upon trust to allow all members of the Hindu community without distinction of caste, creed or sect to use the said Temple of Somanātha as a place of worship and for offering prayers and performing rites and ceremonies in accordance with the regulations that may be made in that behalf and for such other religious or charitable purposes as the Trustees may, from time to time, sanction but subject always to any provisions contained in such regulations as the Trustees may consider necessary to secure the safety and protection of the building;

(e) Upon trust to construct and maintain rest houses and *dharmaśālās* for the pilgrims visiting the said Temple of Somanātha;

(f) Upon trust to set up one or more institutions, including a University, which has for its objects the imparting of education, an essential feature of which is—

(i) the religious education of Hindus,

(ii) the imparting of knowledge of Sanskrit,

(iii) the study of or research in Sanskritic learning, Indology of any branch of knowledge of which such knowledge or Indology forms part, and

(iv) the spread of Sanskrit or Sanskritic learning or to popularise Hindu scriptures or to get prepared or publish works which have for their object the spread of Sanskrit, Sanskritic learning or Indology or which would impart such education to the general public;

(g) Upon trust renovate, reconstruct and maintain Dehotsarga, the sacred place where Lord Śrī Kṛishṇa departed from

the world and to construct a shrine and a suitable memorial thereon;

(h) Upon trust to allow non-Hindu visitors to visit the Somanātha Temple and have *darśan* of the deities in accordance with the rules and regulations that may, from time to time, be framed by the Trustees provided that no such visitor shall be allowed personally to perform worship in the said Temple of Somanātha;

(i) Upon trust to improve, beautify, and maintain the land, premises and area leading to or in the neighbourhood of the said Temple of Somanātha and to do such things as may add beauty, solemnity and sanctity to the aforesaid Trust properties;

(j) Upon trust to take over, maintain and conduct the temples, shrines and sacred places situated on the Somanātha Estate or any other place;

(k) Upon trust to manage and develop the Somanātha Estate or any part thereof in such manner as the Trustees may deem fit including setting up buildings or agricultural farms or other schemes not repugnant to the principal objects contained in clauses (a) to (h) hereof;

(l) Upon trust to maintain and develop *gośālās* for developing good breed of cows and other cattle and a farm or farms for the same;

(m) Upon trust to take over, maintain, conduct and manage other public Trusts of a religious or charitable nature which have as their objects the maintenance, upkeep or conduct of any Hindu temple, shrine or sacred place, of the setting up, maintenance or conduct of any institution, one of the features of which is the object specified in clauses (f) and (k) thereof;

(n) Upon trust to do all things necessary, germane or incidental to the aforesaid objects."

CHAPTER XX
DEHOTSARGA

On July 3, 1950, I went to Dehotsarga to plant a tree in celebration of the first All-India *Vana Mahotsava.* The words I uttered on that occasion are the only ones in which I can give an adequate idea of my impressions:—

"I am overwhelmed with emotion in planting this tree at Dehotsarga, at the spot where Śrī Krishṇa 'shuffled off His mortal coil'. These few

feet of earth are the holiest in the wide world, for here He reclined, in the last few moments of his earthly existence. The cow and the tree—He was styled *'Gosakhā'*, the cow's campanion—were His companions too. Vrindāvan is His forest. Giri Pūja is His cult. Both in Govardhana near Mathurā and Raivataka here, He worshipped the hills and their forests. He brought the *Pārijāta* and the *Vaijayantī Tulsī* and planted them here. He is the guardian deity of the Vana Mahotsava; and so we meet to offer Him homage.

"This spot awakens wonderful memories of Prabhāsa Tīrtha. I see before me Balarāma, his hands on the shoulders of his wives, enjoying the voluptuous touch of the breezes flowing from the Western Sea. I see Dharmarāja, the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas, coming here on a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Somanātha. I see here the stolen glances of Subhadrā as she lovingly fastened her gaze on Arjuna walking hand in hand with Śrī Krishṇa on this very bank of Hiraṇya. More somberly I see here the fratricidal war of the Yādavas who, in the plentitude of their power, massacred each other. At Bhālaka Tīrth I see the Lord Himself sleeping under a tree. I see the hunter's arrow speeding. It enters His feet; He awakens with a shudder; He smiles with superhuman understanding, for His work on earth is done. It is time for men to live for ever on His inspiration.

"He has left behind Him unfading memories; of the divine Child on whom everyone doted; of the loyal Friend who never forsook those who came to Him with self-surrender; of the fascinating Lover who could love and be loved with undying ardour; of the Rebel who led His people out of bondage ; the Yogeśvara who in an age of conflicts and rivalries could rise to such a stature that men saw in Him, not only their chief, but the embodiment of Indian unity, not merely the World Teacher who stood for Moral Order, but 'God Himself.'

"He was great in life; not merely great,—His personality was harmonious, perfect, beautiful. More than three thousand years have passed by and yet He lives in our hearts as no man ever has. No mother can think of the wonderful child except in terms of 'Bālagopāl'. No one can sing or dance except in His Name and to the memory of His Rāsa. No teacher ever taught the Truths He did. No higher secret was given to men than what He gave, by which, man, weak as he is, can become merged in Him in this very life. The message which He gave in the *Bhagavad Gītā* is the message of Life Eternal. From Arjuna to Mahātmā Gāndhi, Indians, great and small, found life's fulfilment in living up to this message, in becoming His instrument—*Nimittamātra*. No human

being can realise himself and be true to himself in the highest measure without becoming His instrument in life.

"I came to this spot 27 years ago. It was then lying bleak and forlorn. In the early light of the dawn, it tore my heart to see this spot neglected by ungrateful posterity. His Will, however, was supreme. India became free. The leaders of Free India decided to invest this spot with a dignity and beauty which its sacred associations deserve. I can only thank Him for giving me the opportunity to see this day. In all humility I thank Him for giving me an occasion to pay my humble tribute by planting this tree at the place where He spent the last moments of His mortal life."

CHAPTER XXI
SOMANĀTHA, THE SHRINE ETERNAL

(Pls. XXXII A & C)

His Highness the Jām Saheb laid the foundation stone of the Seventh Temple on May 8, 1950. A silver *Nandī* was consecrated and with its aid I performed on October 19, 1950 the ceremony of pulling down the Fifth Temple, which, hoary and in ruins, was awaiting the day of the shrine's resurrection.

Somanātha was the shrine beloved of India. It was not merely the shrine of the Hindus; pilgrims of other faiths are referred to in old chronicles as visiting it. In its worship she found ancient glory and unending inspiration. In maintaining it with magnificence, she felt a throbbing zeal to maintain the core of her faith, tradition and collective greatness. An ancient race subconsciously felt that it was Somanātha which connected it with the past and the present; it was the eternal symbol of its faith in itself and its future. As often as the shrine was destroyed, the urge to restore it sprang up more vividly in its heart.

That is why Somanātha, as a *Jyotirliṅga,* has been given a premier place in religious literature for ages. That is why from *Mahābhārata* downwards, the *Paurānic* literature has referred to Prabhāsa with a reverence not shown to any other sacred place. That is why for a thousand years Maḥmūd's destruction of the shrine has been burnt into the Collective Sub-conscious of the race as an unforgettable national disaster.

Perhaps, that is why, in my college days, my imagination turned to the shrine that was no more, with pride and grief, in my articles "GRAVE

OF VANISHED EMPIRES" and the "CONQUEST OF ŚOMANĀTHA"; and my mind turned to the history of ancient Gujarat for writing romances, when I adopted "JAYA SOMANĀTH" the national cry of Gujarat, as a symbol of her inspiration for future greatness. That was why in 1937, writing my novel in Kashmir, my imagination lived in the drama of Maḥmūd's march to Somanātha.

Then I saw the grandeur that was the Temple; its endless pilgrims; its valiant defenders; Gaṅgā Sarvajña (pl. XXXII A), the Pāśupatāchārya combining in himself spiritual inspiration and worldly wisdom, who died in front of the *Liṅga* before it was shattered to pieces; the brave Bhīma of the twanging bow who harassed the retreating army of the Turk and restored the Temple. Then I saw Chowlā (pl. XXXII C), the great-grand-mother of Emperor Kumārapāla, the restorer of the Fifth Temple, a dancing girl, self-wedded to her mighty Lord but married in flesh to Bhīma in a moment of illusory emotion, and I also saw this beautiful, spotless woman giving up her life before Somanātha in her final ecstatic dance of surrender.

It was perhaps a symbolic projection of the unexpressed wish of myriads of hearts of all generations who yearned for Somanātha's resurrection.

This national urge was reflected when Sardar, with uncanny insight, saw that we would never genuinely feel that freedom had come, nor develop faith in our future, unless Somanātha was restored.

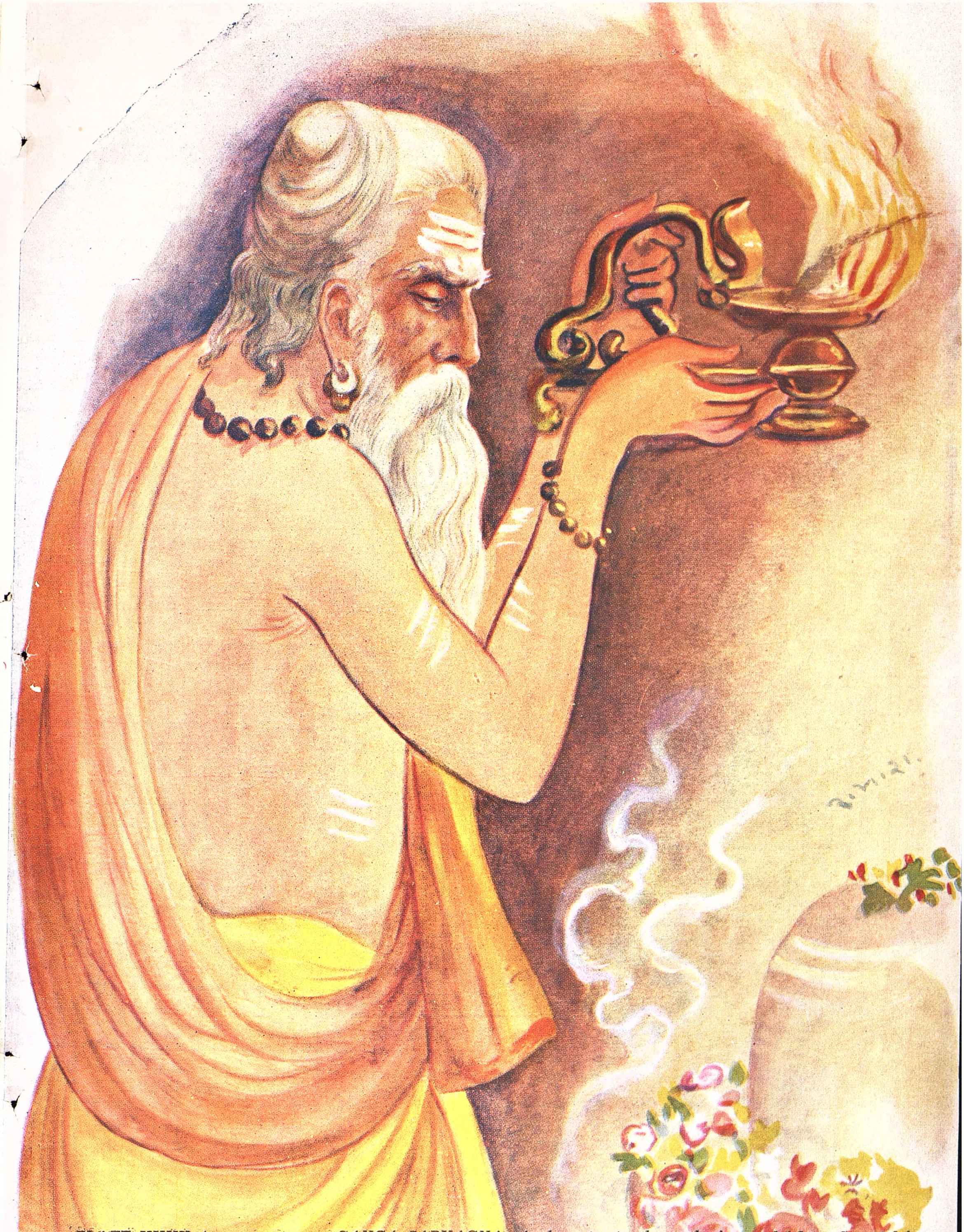


PLATE XXXII A GANGA SARVAGNA—*A character in the author's novel 'Jaya Somnāth'*

LATE XXXII D

GHOGHA BĀPĀ—A character in the author's novel 'Jaya Somnāth'

PLATE XXXII E SULTAN MAHMUD of GHAZNI

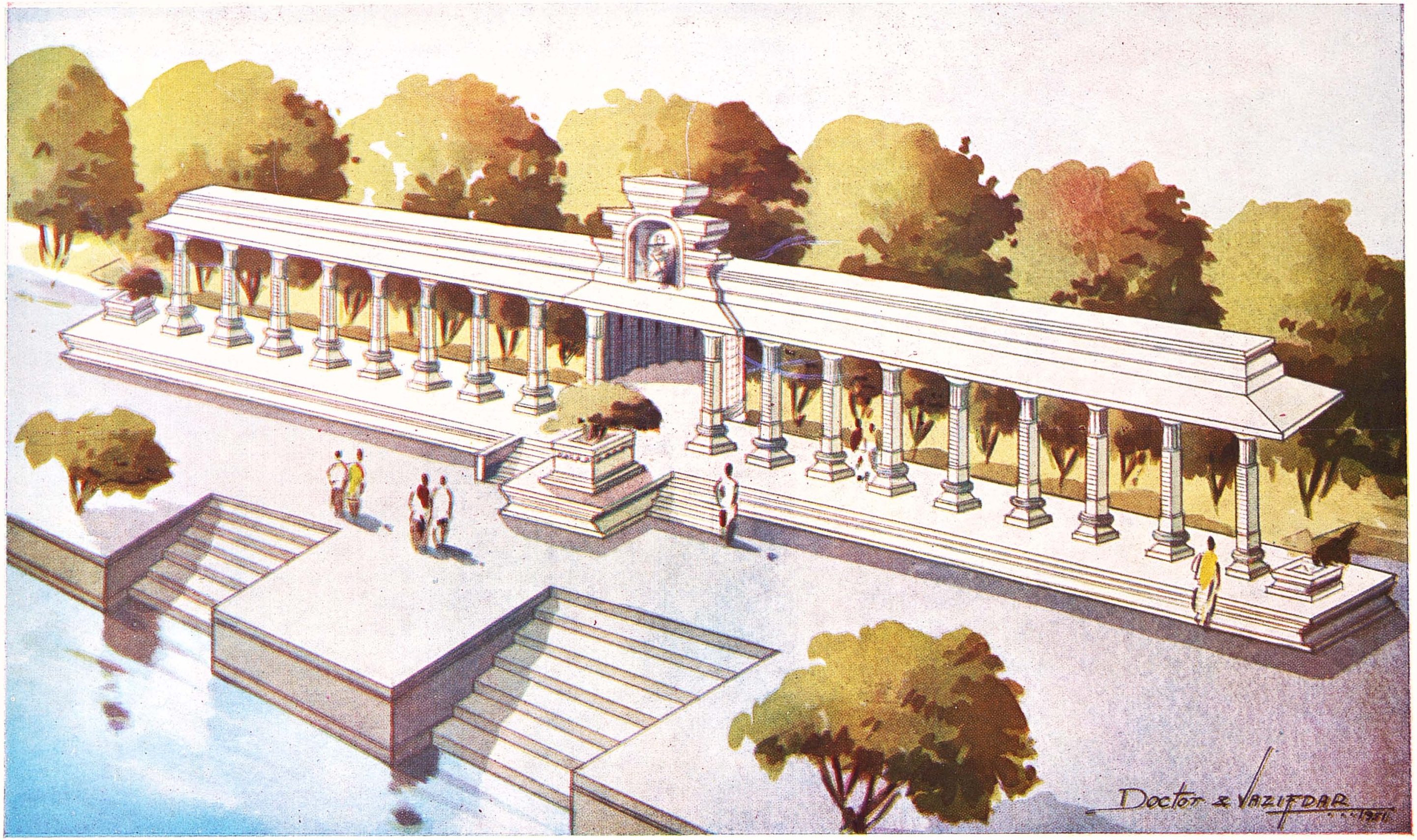


PLATE XXXII F

Proposed Monument at Dehotsarga

PART II

ROMANCE IN STONE

This hoary temple had once attracted the devotion of the whole of India; for centuries it had been the greatest seat of Pāśupata Śaivism, the most powerful cult in medieval India. When I saw it in 1950, it was a solitary, ancient ruin forgotten by the country except in song and story, standing on the very brink of the sea which had once seen the mighty trading vessels of Gujarat carrying our products to foreign lands and returning laden with untold wealth. These ruins had a romance of their own. They were a living monument of all that India stood for, when it was free, and all it suffered when it lost its freedom. I was fascinated by the temple's romance, and from each stone, I tried to gather its unfathomed mystery.

CHAPTER I

THE DAYS OF AURANGZEB

(Pls. I, X, XII-XV and XXXII)

The romance ran backwards. Aurangzeb, the fanatic was the last ruler in whose reign this temple saw the worship of Somanātha. In 1706 it was converted into a mosque; in the same year the Marathas entered Saurashṭra. *Mirat-i-Āhmedi* (1760) attests to this conversion, but when the author wrote his chronicle it had gone out of use. Was it too old for use? Was it superstition? For in 1922 I found a belief among the Muslims of the town that no one could use the stones of this temple and escape misfortune.

In 1713 the Marathas conquered Saurāshṭra—Kāthiawār as it was called. In 1783, Ahalyā Bai, the devout queen, found the ruins beyond repairs and installed Somanātha in a new temple a little away from the old site (pl. XXXII). Somanātha still continues to be worshipped in the temple which she built.

When the Temple was converted into a mosque, two mosque domes were constructed one over the *gūḍḥamaṇḍapa* and the other over the *garbhagṛha* (pl. I). The old Chālukyan pillars supporting the dome over the *gūḍḥa maṇḍapa* were converted into arches by crude artistic stone structures (pls. XIII-XV). The *pradakshiṇa mārga* or the circumambulatory passage to the west was removed; its stones remained piled up on the plinth of the temple of Pārvatī (pl. X). The external face of the western wall of the *garbhagṛha* was walled up, possibly to support the mosque dome. Its inside wall, however, remained unchanged. Its floor remained uncared for; possibly it had been broken up by repeated hunt for treasures; Muslim chroniclers of Maḥmūd Ghazni's raid had left too picturesque an account of the hidden treasure; and the destroyer could not resist the temptation to search for it. I was avaricious too. I wanted to strike on one little coin or a fugitive copper plate which could shed light on the romance of this temple. But I was unlucky.

Which part of this reconstruction can be traced to Aurangazeb's time, 1706, and which of it to its earlier conversion into a mosque, it is difficult to say. The latest construction of 1706, it was clear, consisted of a foot-thick layer of white stones roughly placed on the old flooring and thus forming a new flooring; part of it was found intact in the north-east corner.

This last reconstruction was a patch-work. How long it was used as a mosque after 1706 no one could say, but it was not for more than a few years. One fact, however, was certain. The edifice was used not as a mosque but as a temple before 1706. That is clear from the statement of *Mirat-i-Āhmadi.*

We also found that the next earlier repairs to the temple, among other things, consisted of fixing reddish yellow stones at odd places. Some of the older stones which were either black, white or reddish had disappeared; these yellow stones were fixed in their places. One such stone was found on the left side of the *chandraśilā;* the other, in one of the steps of the northern side of the *gūḍha maṇḍapa;* the third, to the left of the main entrance in the east. The first of these stones near the *chandraśilā* bore an inscription of Saṁvat 1647.

The fixing of the reddish yellow stones must have been in or before A.D. 1590. The edifice was then used as a temple. The ancient temple, partly dilapidated, was in 1706, still a shrine of Somanātha. It was then that the white stone flooring was fixed at places and the *pradakshiṇa mārga* destroyed.

It is more than likely that the mosque domes and minarets were of an early age when the Temple was not so dilapidated and the destroyer was a ruler himself, and not merely the viceroy of a distant ruler whose hold over the territory was crumbling, as Aurangzeb's was in 1706.

CHAPTER II

THE MYSTERY OF THE TWO OUTLETS: THE FIRST TEMPLE

(Fig. 1 and pls. XXXI, XLI-XLIII)

Going backwards in the order of events: when was the temple renovated prior to 1590, the year carved on the dark yellow stone? This renovation was elaborate, but made by someone whose means were limited. It comprised several constructions. The *garbhagṛha* door-sill was raised by adding two risers and two treads. A door smaller both in height and width was fixed on the door-sill (pl. XXXI). The original *chandraśilā* in beautiful black granite was still seen spreading out under the risers. Possibly the old door with the sill had been broken down to make it look like a mosque.

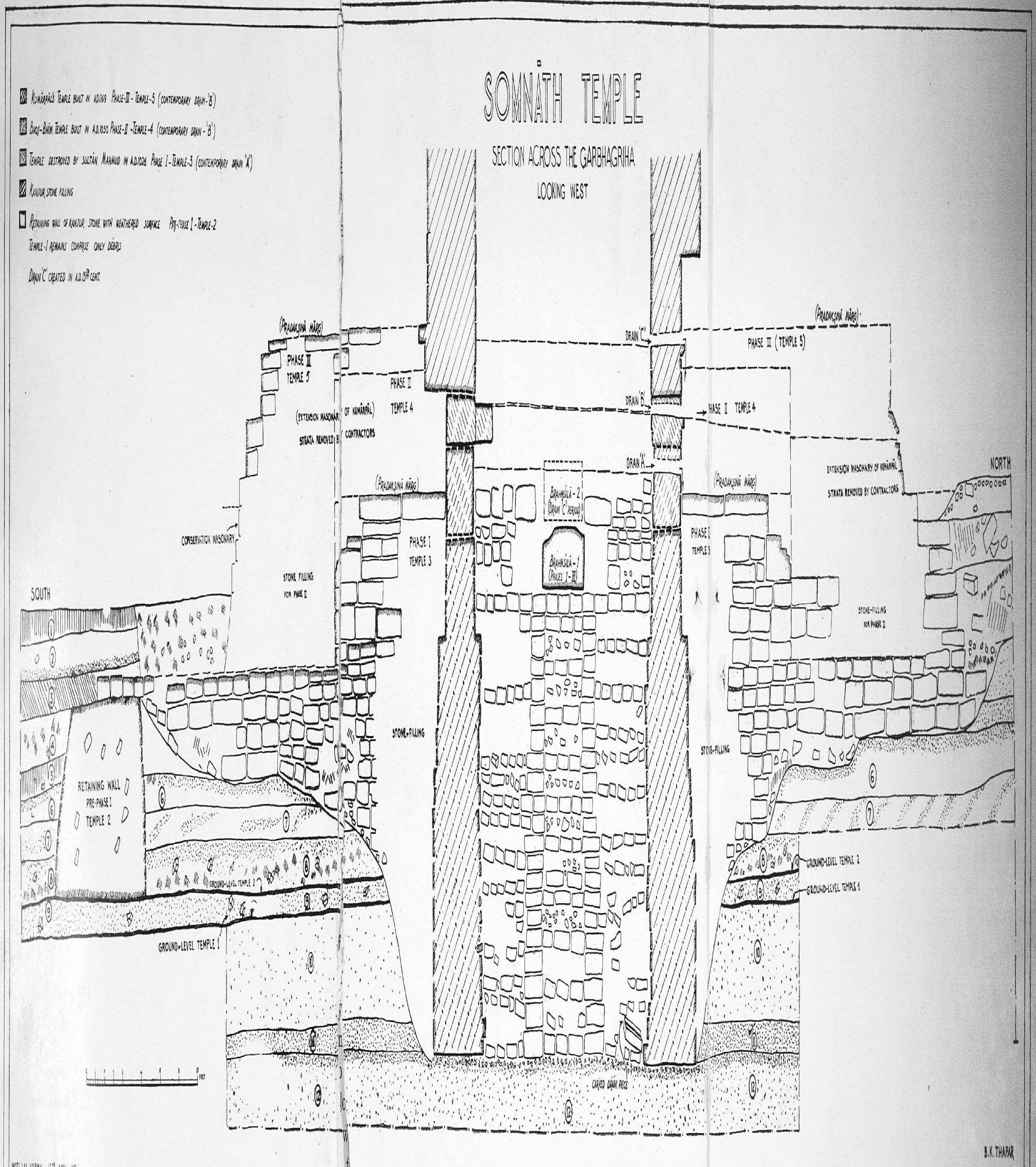

SOMNĀTH TEMPLE
SECTION ACROSS THE GARBHAGRIHA
LOOKING WEST
KUMĀRPĀL'S TEMPLE BUILT IN A.D.1169 PHASE-III - TEMPLE-5 (CONTEMPORARY DRAIN-'B')
BHOJ-BHĪM TEMPLE BUILT IN A.D.1030 PHASE-II -TEMPLE-4 (CONTEMPORARY DRAIN-'B')
TEMPLE DESTROYED BY SULTĀN MAHMUD IN A.D.1026 PHASE I-TEMPLE-3 (CONTEMPORARY DRAIN 'A')
KANJUR STONE FILLING
RETAINING WALL OF KANJUR STONE WITH WEATHERED SURFACE PRE-PHASE I -TEMPLE-2
TEMPLE-1 REMAINS COMPRISE ONLY DÉBRIS
DRAIN 'C' CREATED IN A.D.15th CENT.
SOUTH
NORTH
(PRADAKSINĀ MĀRG)
PHASE III TEMPLE 5
PHASE II TEMPLE 4
PHASE I TEMPLE 3
PHASE III (TEMPLE 5)
PHASE II TEMPLE 4
DRAIN 'C'
DRAIN 'B'
DRAIN 'A'
(EXTENSION MASONARY OF KUMĀRPĀL)
STRATA REMOVED BY CONTRACTORS
EXTENSION MASONARY OF KUMĀRPĀL
CONSERVATION MASONARY
STONE FILLING FOR PHASE II
BRAHMŚILĀ-2 (DRAIN 'C' PERIOD)
BRAHMŚILĀ-1 (PHASES I-III)
STONE-FILLING
RETAINING WALL PRE-PHASE I TEMPLE 2
GROUND-LEVEL TEMPLE 2
GROUND-LEVEL TEMPLE 1
CARVED DRAIN PIECE
FEET
MOTI LAL VARMA 12th APRIL 1951
B.K. THAPAR
S.K. JOGLEKAR

Fig. 1

A new *Liṅga* was installed at the time of this renovation at a level higher than that of the older *Liṅga*. This was done by carrying out certain definite changes. A smaller *brahmaśilā* was placed on the top of the original *brahmaśilā* (fig. I) thus raising the base of the *Liṅga*. The level of the *yonipaṭa* was raised, involving the boring of an outlet in the north wall of the *garbhagṛha* for the sacred water (pl. XLII). The door level was raised in proportion to the height of the *Liṅga*.

'When was this renovation made', was the question I asked myself. Who made it? In 1459 Mahmud Begda desecrated the temple and converted it into a mosque for the first time. How long was this building used as a temple between 1459 and 1706; when was it again converted into a mosque? Another question of far greater importance rose before me. I, with several students of Gujarat history, had assumed till then that the ruins were of the edifice stated to have been built by Bhīmadeva between 1030 and 1050 after Maḥmūd Ghazni's raid. If the edifice was of 1030, was this renovation comprising the higher level of the *Liṅga* made by Kumārapāla in 1169?

I went into the *garbhagṛha* for the first time in July 1950. I then noticed in its northern wall two outlets (C & B) for the sacred waters, one on top of the other. The excavation also showed two *brahmaśilās* (restored in fig. 1) one on the top of the other corresponding to the levels of the outlets. Outlet C became necessary because the *Liṅga* was placed, not on the original *brahmaśilā* but on another *brahmaśilā* on the top of it. The situation was intriguing. These outlets were the keys to open the guarded secret of this temple.

On the spot I drew a rough sketch of the position of the two *brahmaśilās* and the two outlets as also their relation to the raised level of the door of the *garbhagṛha*. I then formed a hypothesis and later asked Mr. Thapar to carry on excavations and to put this to test. As a result, below outlet B, we found another outlet A (pl. XLII). Careful scrutiny yielded valuable results. Right down below the stone structure was the sandy ground in the middle of which stood *brahmaśilā* A. This was placed on a hollow stone structure filled with rubble and stone (Fig. 1). The four walls of the *garbhagṛha* descended downwards for about fourteen feet right upto the sand which was roughly five feet above the sea level. The lower portion of these walls were loosely built of Kanjur stones without any mortar pointing or proper facing (pl. XLIII). Around these, many carved pieces of stone were also found. A broken *śikhar* piece was found right at the bottom of the foundations on the west. A

channel—a *yonipaṭa*—carved in stone was also found at almost the same level on the north of the *garbhagṛha*.

Corresponding to the level, in one of the Cuttings across the *Maṇḍapa* on the south was found another stone carved into a *yonipaṭa*. Pottery of the early centuries of the Christian era was found in the lower levels of the Cuttings (below p. 90). Undoubtedly, therefore, the First Temple stood on this spot. Its carved stones were used in the lower-most foundation in building the Second Temple. The channel was small and thin. The *śikhara* stone was small. This temple was not, therefore, very large and was built in the same period to which the pottery belonged, that is, the first or second century of the Christian era.

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH TEMPLES

(Fig. 1 and pls. XLII, XLVIII, L, LI, LIII and LVIII)

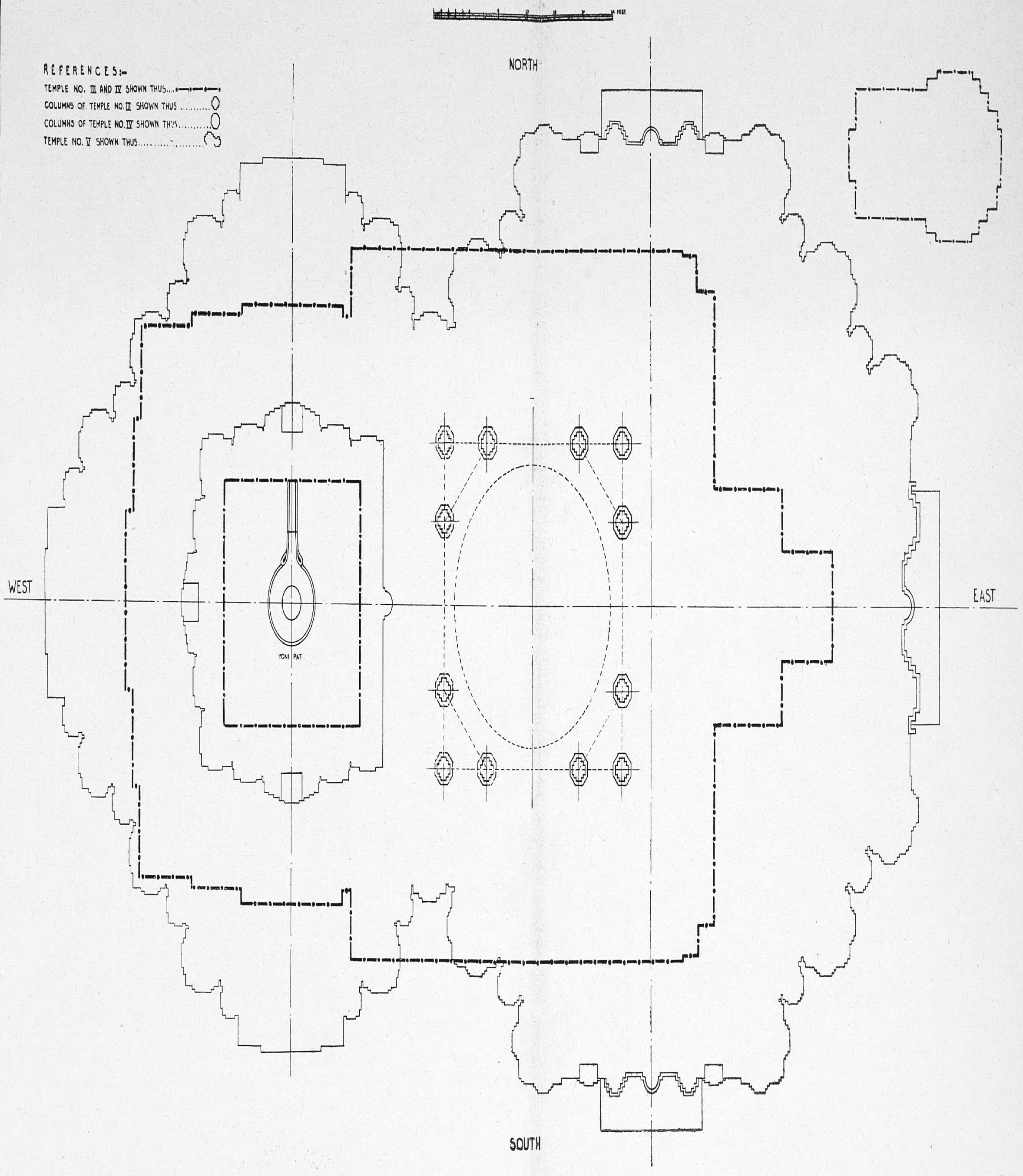
In the north-east corner was found a stone inscription in Brāhmī *lipi* of the Valabhi period (550-700); it was rather large. It is difficult to connect it with the First Temple; it cannot be related to the Third Temple which cannot be dated much earlier than A.D. 800. Over the structure of loose rough stones were walls of Kanjur stones pointed with lime *(Pl. XLIII)*. Over this plinth of Kanjur stones was built the plinth of thin-grained reddish sand-stone of which only two courses of a total height of 2½ feet were found; outlet A is in this red stone wall (*Pl. XLII*). The *brahmaśilā* A clearly belonged to the red-stone temple. The question was, did the Kanjur stone structure constitute the relics of an independent Second Temple or was it merely a structure supporting the red-stone temple? Mr. Thapar has come to the conclusion that the Kanjur stone structure was the foundation of red-stone temple, that is the Third Temple, and not the relics of an independent Second Temple (below p. 82).

But on this hypothesis certain facts remain inexplicable.

The Kanjur masonry at some places was not mere fillings. At a corresponding level to this Kanjur wall, there was a floor-level in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* built of the same stone.

On the south, about 20 feet away from the outside face of the Third Temple, was a retaining wall of the same kind of Kanjur stone six feet high on ten feet wide base (*fig. 1 and Pl. XLIV*). This wall was prior in date to the wall of the Third Temple for, as stated by Mr. Thapar, some of the stones near the foundation of the Third Temple were clearly over-

SOMNĀTH TEMPLE



MOTI LAL VARMA 19TH MARCH 1951

B. K. THAPPAR
S. K. JOGLEKAR

riding the Kanjur stones. He himself agrees that this was the wall of pre-Phase I structure (below pp. 82-3). Again below the red stone plinth of the Third Temple was found a Kanjur flooring outstretching the limits of the Third Temple flooring (*Pls. L. and LI*).

The Kanjur stone retaining wall running parallel to the length of the temple in the south was also traced further east. The width of the sea-wall was evidently enlarged when the red-stone structure was built. The defaced inscription could not be related to the period of the red-stone Temple, but to an earlier one, though later than the First Temple.

Clearly, therefore, there was a very large temple-structure of Kanjur stones on the ruins of which was constructed the Third Temple.

The red-stone Third Temple was a distinctive structure of large dimensions. We found the retaining wall of this temple. On the southern side of the temple, the sloping level of the imbedded stones showed that the temple-wall had fallen. Its entrance steps had been broken by violence (*pl. XLVIII*). There are traces also of some stones having been burnt. Violent hands had been laid on the Third Temple; parts of it had fallen, some broken, others burnt. This, therefore, was the temple which Maḥmūd Ghazni demolished.

This conclusion supported later on by further excavations, proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the ruins as they stood in 1950 were not of the temple built by Bhoj and Bhīm after Maḥmūd's raid, but of the structure later built by Bhāva Bṛhaspati during the days of Kumārapāla in A.D. 1169. The theory that the temple destroyed by Maḥmūd was on another site, is totally disproved. So also it was clear from the plinth, the flooring, the fallen wall and the base of the pillars that the structure was not of wood, but of stone. There may be a row of wooden pillars outside the *maṇḍapa*. For the Fourth Temple, the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* was extended in the front; additional steps were constructed concealing the broken steps of the Third Temple; a new *pradakshiṇa mārga* was constructed. On the southern face of the plinth we found the carving of an artistic Śiva Tripurāntaka piercing Tripura with his spear (*Pl. LVIII*). The sea-wall on the south was changed to a mere revetment (pl. LIII). In the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* new pillars were erected with octagonal pedestals, six of which could be traced. The level of the *garbhagṛha* was raised, and the second lower outlet B was constructed (pl. XLII). Perhaps the original *brahmaśilā* which, in part, bore marks of violence was kept where it was and a bigger *liṅga* to suit the height of the *garbhagṛha* was installed.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIFTH TEMPLE

(Fig. 2 and pls. XL, XLII, and LII)

On the plinth of the Fourth Temple, the Fifth Temple was erected. This was the edifice which we got demolished. The older plinth of the Fourth Temple, the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, *garbhagṛha* and the *pradikshiṇā mārga* were enlarged (fig. 2). The *garbhagṛha* and the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* were not placed in a rectangle as in temples III and IV, but diagonally. The old pillars of the Hindu type of the *gūḍha maṇḍapa* were also constructed at this time. The steps were also raised and enlarged. The second protective sea-wall which we found was constructed to the south (pl. LII).

The flooring of the *garbhagṛha* and part of the *guḍha maṇḍapa* was fixed with black basalt. In the *garbhagṛha,* however, the flooring of black basalt was found with two pieces cut as semi-circle on each side to enclose the *Liṅga,* proving conclusively that the old *Liṅga* was not replaced. The *chandraśīla* in black basalt now shown under the door sill of the *garbhagṛha* was also placed at that time. This edifice was of the type of *meruprasāda.* As referred to in the inscription, the sea-wall erected has been found *(pl. LII);* so also a plinth of the *Pattaśālikā (pl. XL)* and two of the small temples. Looking to the type of the building, the *Śikhara* must have been at least nine storeys high. Further additions to the structure included the *Meghanāda Maṇḍapa* by Bhimadeva II in A.D. 1216.

The excavations carried out both inside and outside the temple clearly proved that this was the temple constructed by Gāṇḍa Bṛhaspati in the time of Kumārapāla in 1169 and referred to in the Bhadrakali inscription.

In front of the *maṇḍapas,* there was a wide open space with an entrance door and *kīrtistambhas.* Its *saṅkhadwāra* can still be seen. Some of the *kīrtistambhas* were also found. From the way it was built, it is clear that there were porches with beautifully carved *toraṇas* in front of the *maṇḍapas.* The *gūḍha maṇḍapa* must have had four domes; the *nṛtya maṇḍapa,* three, built with white local stone, which was found at a distance of three miles from Somanātha and is non-corrosive. It is hard; carving on it cannot be very plentiful; but it resists the effect of the salt air. It is said that this stone can be shaped easily when just recovered from the mine, but gets harder later. On the outer walls of the temple was used the white lime stone found in

mines near about Somanātha, viz. Chandkhatal mine, Gaddar and Somani mines. This stone lends itself to elaborate carving and artistic designs and was used for the outer walls where we find horizontal courses of beautifully carved figures. Black basalt blocks of the size of 18 x 12 x 8 inches and 56 x 21 x 4 were used for the *garbhagṛha* flooring. For the *yonipaṭṭa śankhadwāra* and the *chandraśilā,* the same type of stone was employed. No cement was used in the masonry. The stones were so well-set that there was no need for cementing material. But some strong cementing substance appeared to have been used round the *Liṅga* in the *garbhagṛha.* The reconstruction of this temple was made by Prabhāśaṅkar Sompura.

It was this temple, strong and solid, which survived all these years. The foundations were not filled with rough pebbles but large stones were set against each other with dovel joints.

Temple III, therefore, was the one destroyed by Maḥmūd Ghazni. The Fourth Temple was constructed by Bhoja and Bhīma. It was then that the outlet B had to be made as the level of the *Liṅga* was raised. When were the different temples built? How long were they used as a shrine? These questions are answered by the outlets (pls. XLI and XLII). Outlet B was used for the longest period of time. The aperture has been rounded at places by the constant flow of water. When I first examined it, I found that the base of the outlet 'B' had been repaired by a piece of black basalt of the type used for the floor of the *garbhagṛha* and the *chandraśilā.* Outlet B, therefore, had two stages: (a) as originally constructed, and (b) when a fresh piece of black basalt was inserted in 1169. This establishes that the outlet B was made when the Fourth Temple was built.

Outlet A was also used for a long time. But the configuration of the aperture clearly indicates that it was in use for a shorter period than outlet B. Aperture C, on the other hand, was used for a still shorter period. Outlet B was constructed about A.D. 1030; outlet C went out of use completely by about 1706, when the temple was converted into a mosque. The last record of reconstruction was after Maḥmūd Begda's demolition of the temple in about A.D. 1500. So outlet C can be taken to have been used for about 200 years.

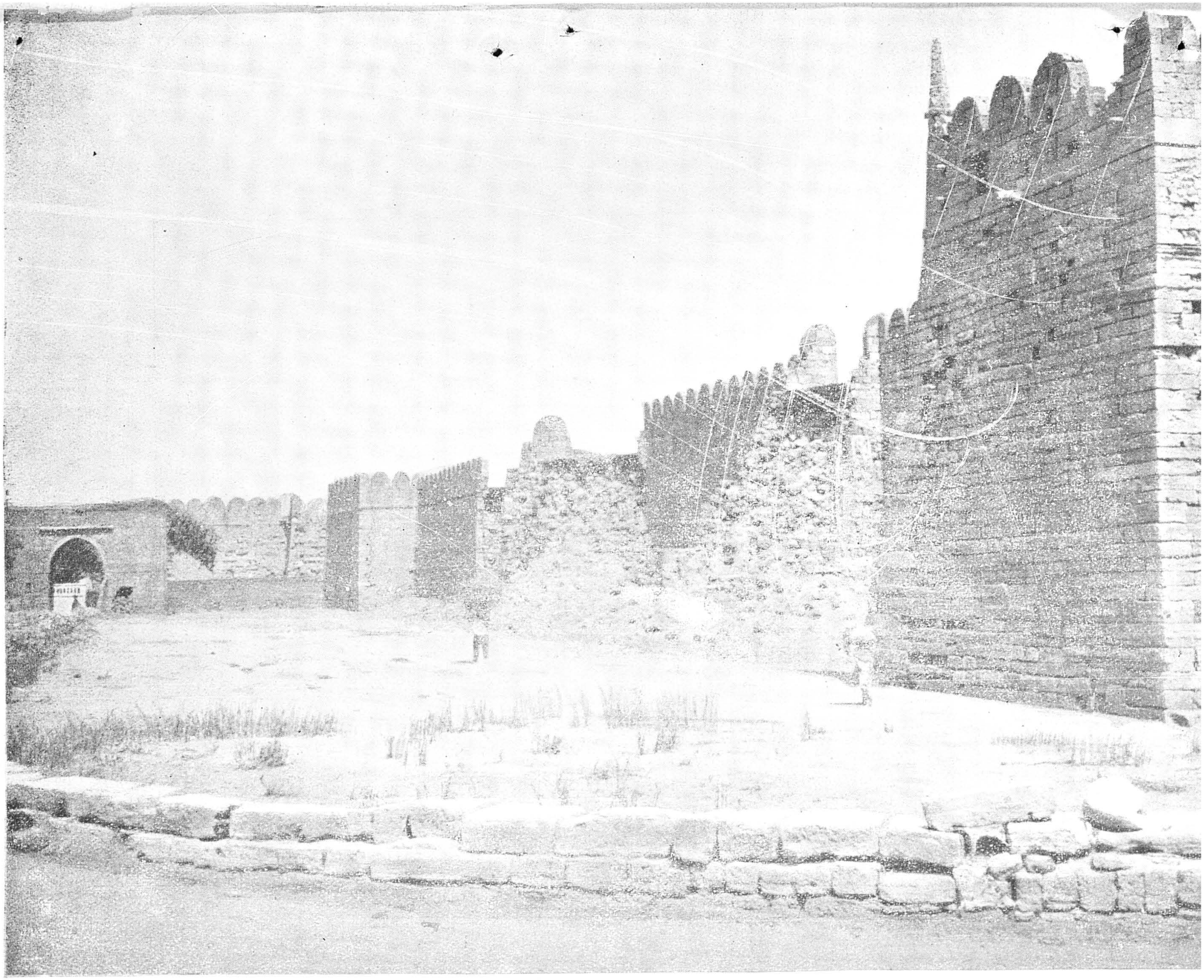
As regards outlet B, it was first built in A.D. 1030-42 and was repaired in 1169. It remained in use at least up to 1299, till the destruction of the temple by Alaf Khan, the general of Alla-ud-din Khiliji.

C could not have been put up immediately after 1299, for if it was, it would have been in use for 400 years, that is, for a period of time very much longer than the use of outlet B. But we have clearer evidence to the effect that the raising of the level of the temple, the door-sill and the *garbhagṛha* and the construction of the sill took place when the temple was restored after Maḥmūd Begda's demolition in 1469. Outlet C was therefore in use for about 200 years, and B was used except for small intervals between 1030 and 1459. This would show that aperture A, which went out of use in 1026, must have been in use at least for about 300 years. That would take the construction of the Third Temple at least to the end of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th century.

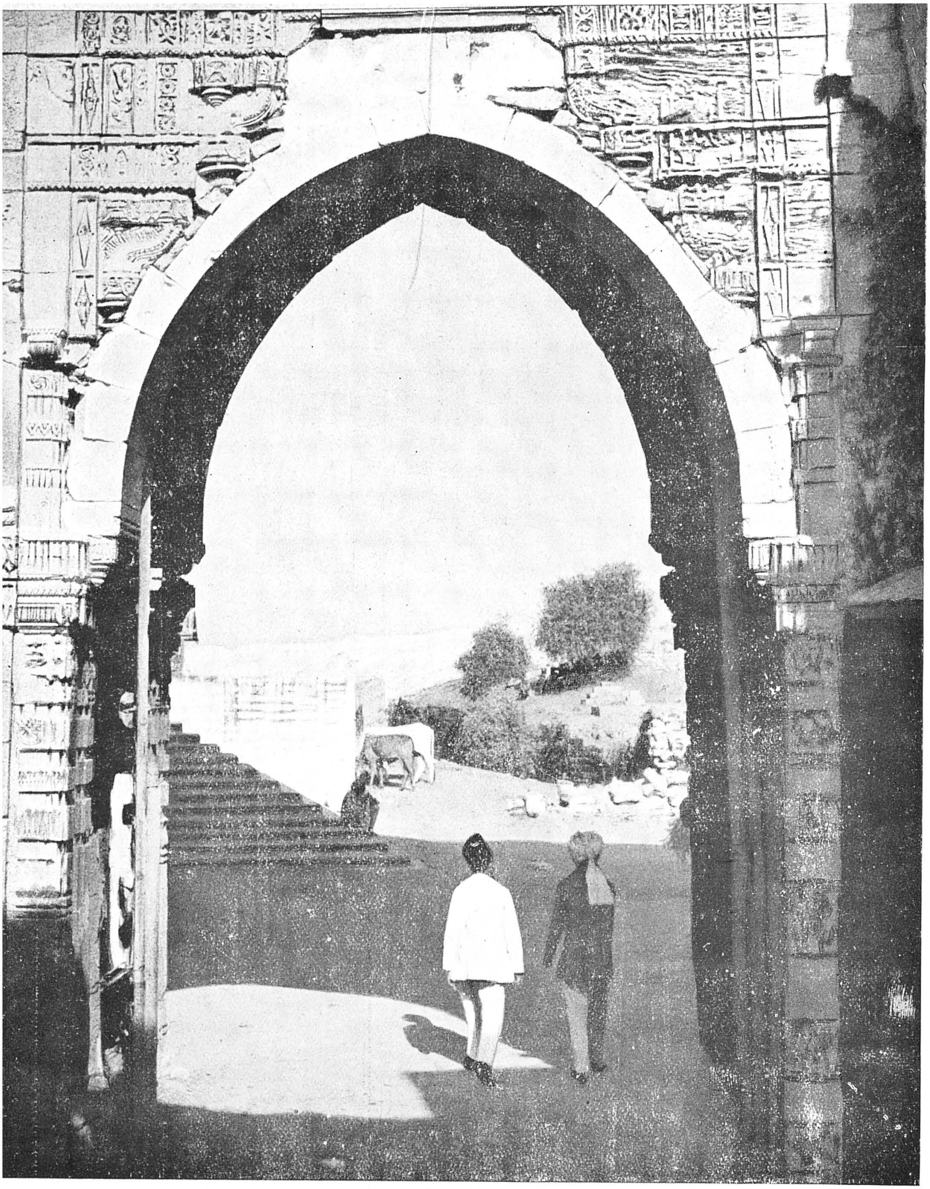
Those were the days when the Chālukyas ruled Saurāshṭra as the feudatories of the Gūrjareśwaras of the Pratīhara line ruling at Kanauj. Temple II therefore of Kanjur stones must have been constructed during the Valabhī period. The Brāhmī inscription, therefore, is to be related to this Temple.

There also exists ceramic evidence. Pottery found in the lower levels of the trenches is ascribable to the early centuries of the Christian era. Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata cult, also flourished in the second century. The First Temple must be taken to pertain to the first-second centuries of the Christian Era, and its relics form the traces of one of the earliest temples in stone in India. Here was the romance in stone, stretching out to 2,000 years and unfolding a unique story of devotion and heroism, of vandalism and desecration, of defeat and triumph, of the best and worst in man epitomised in a single symbol.

PLATE XXXIII



Somanātha Paṭṭan: showing a part of the fort-wall on the east



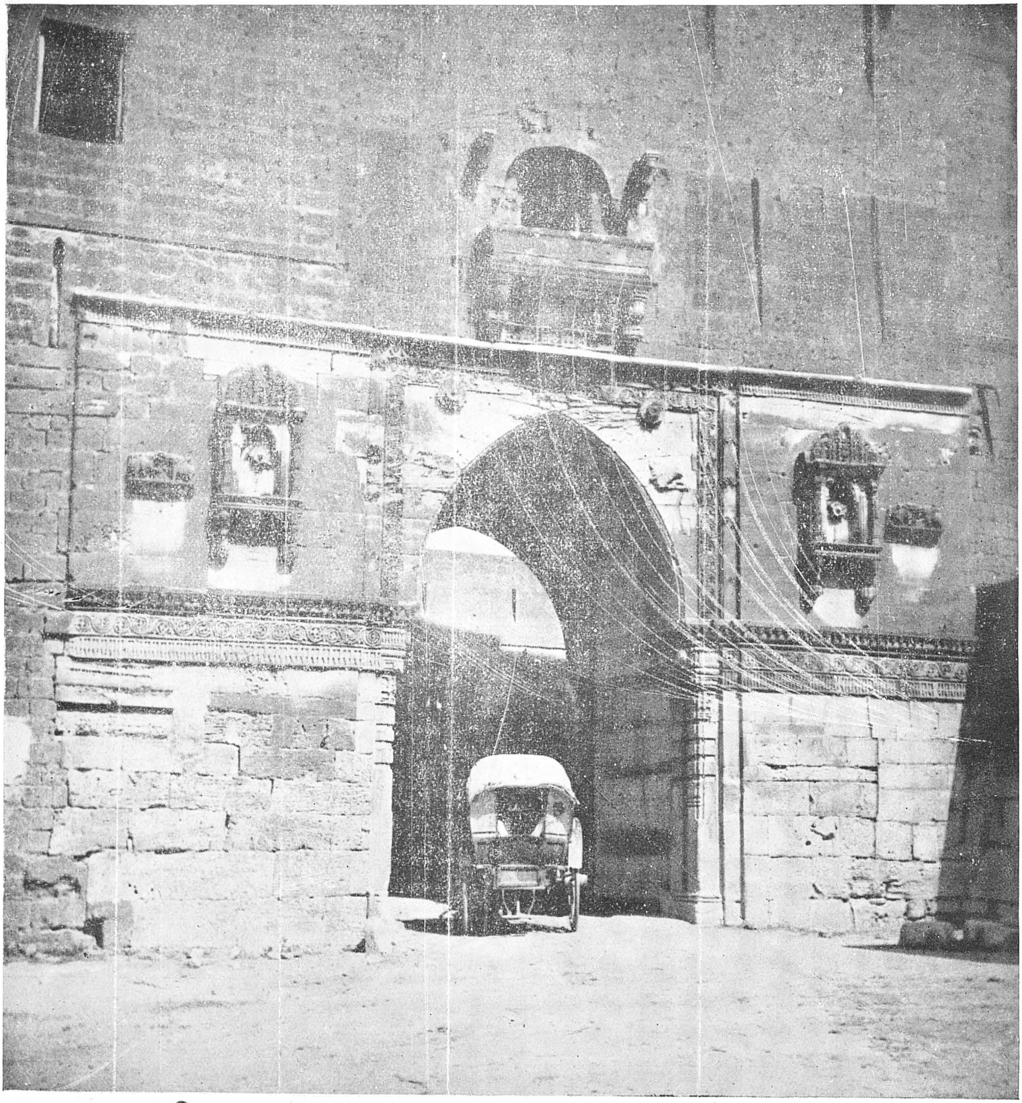
Somanātha Paṭṭan: the Jūnāgadh gate, from inside, showing the conversion of corbelled masonry into an arch. Mark the details of carvings

PLATE XXXIV

Somanātha Paṭṭan: the Triveni gate, from inside, showing the arched span of the gate

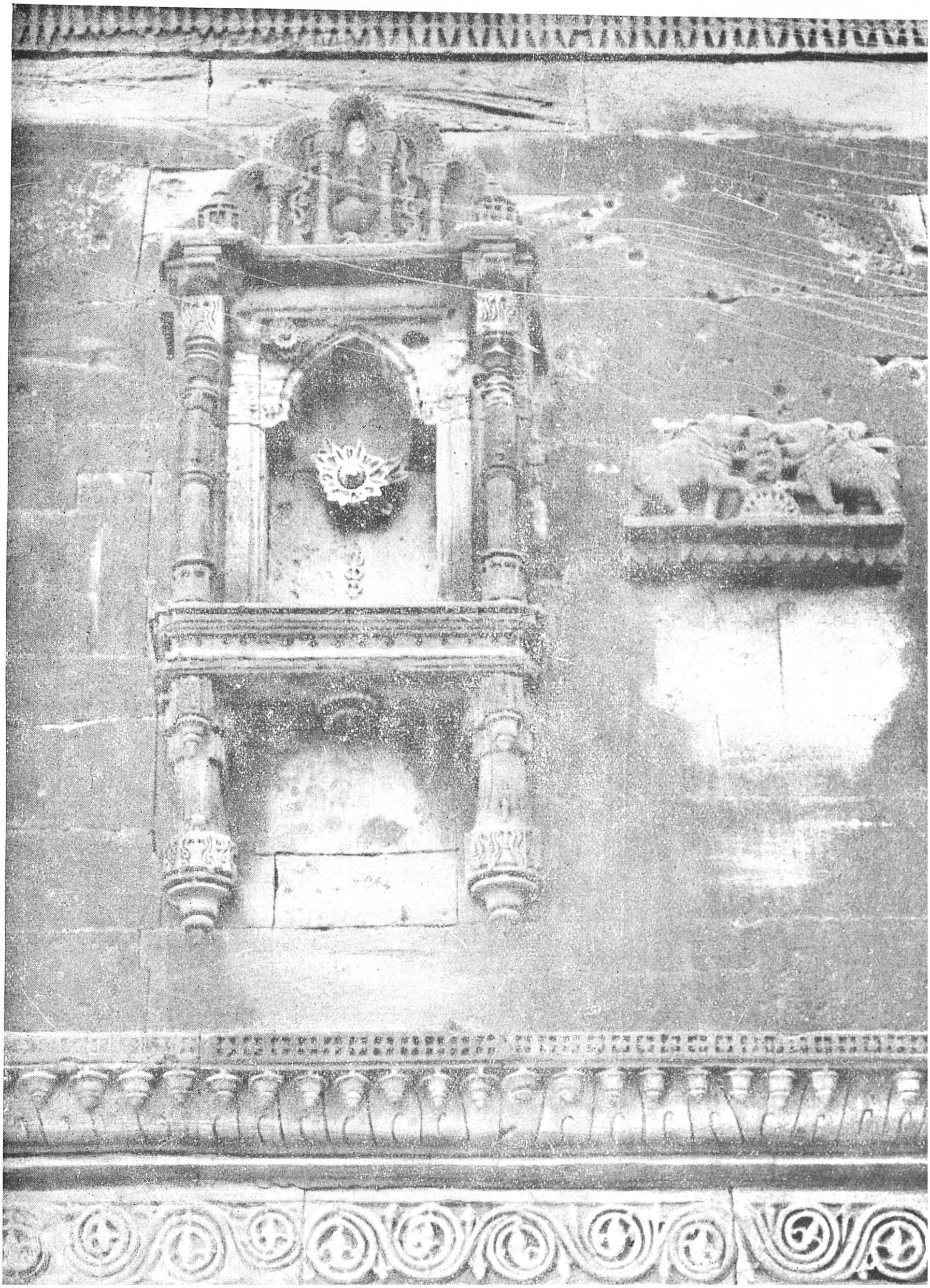
PLATE XXXV

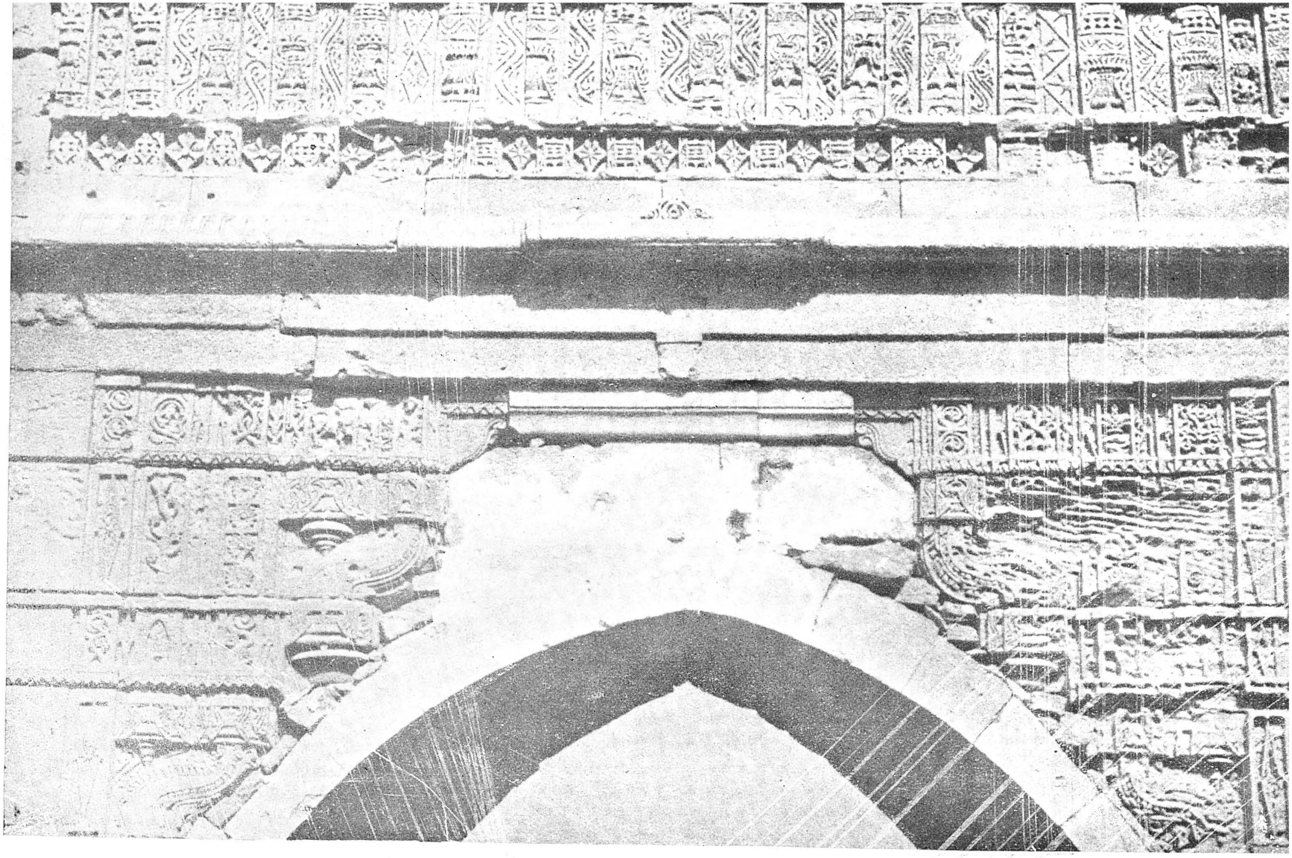
Somanātha Paṭṭan: the Jūnāgadh gate, from outside, showing the muslim arch against the background of typical hindu architectural features



Somanātha Paṭṭan (the Jūnāgadh gate): detailed view of the distinctive hindu architectural features, viz., elephants pouring water.

PLATE XXXVII





Somanātha Paṭṭan (the Jūnāgadh gate): close-up of the upper portion of the Muslim arch viewed against the background of earlier Hindu masonry

The tomb of Maḥmūd's elephant which was killed while breaking open the Jūnāgadh gate of Somanātha Paṭṭan

PLATE XXXIX

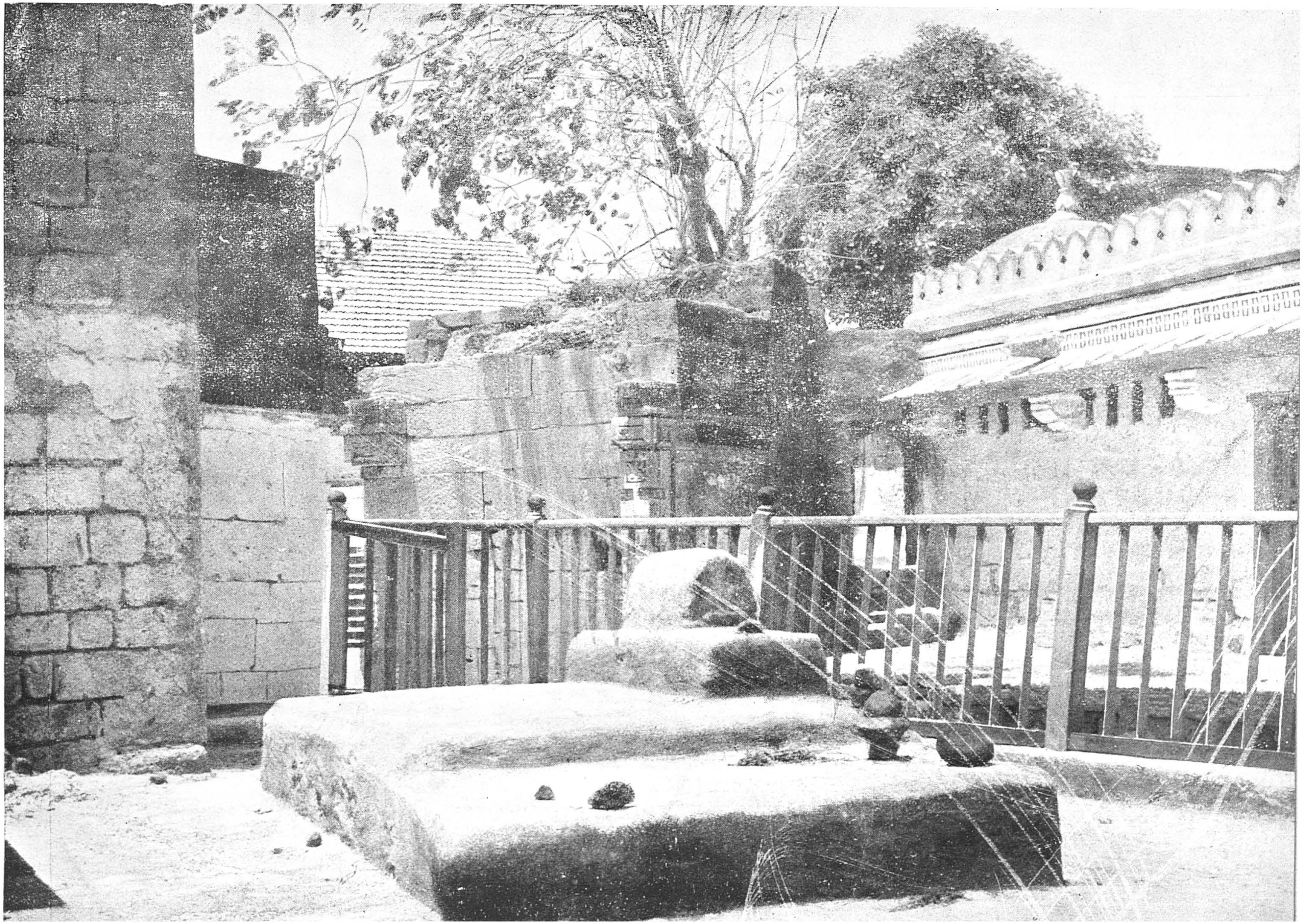
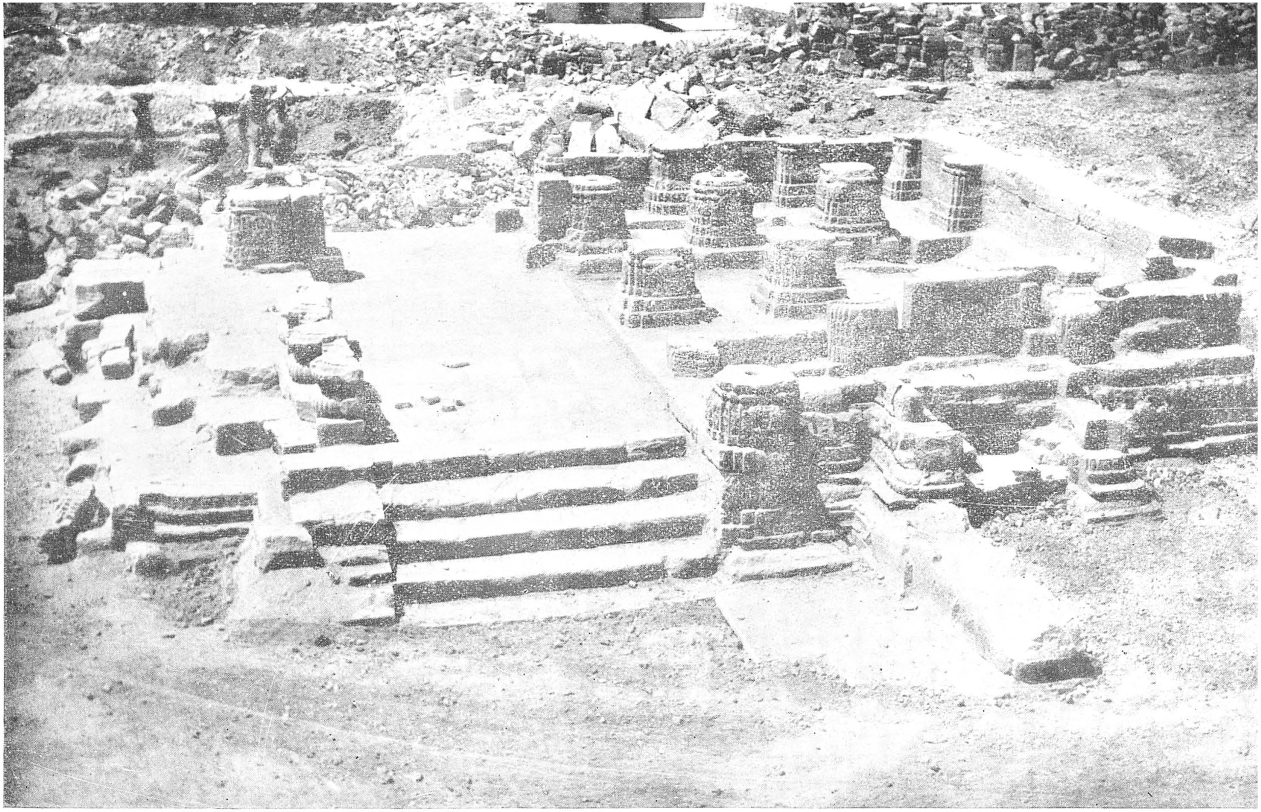


PLATE XL



Somanātha: Remains of the paṭṭaśālika discovered below a modern building

PART III

THE TEMPLE OF SOMANATHA: HISTORY BY EXCAVATIONS

The story of Somanātha is known to us in considerable detail. It signifies the faith and reverence of the devout Hindu; it symbolises the racial instinct for survival; it amplifies the theory of creation, destruction and reconstruction and above all it represents the architectural development in Gujarat for over 900 years. A huge literature of fanciful stories developed soon after the victory of Sultān Maḥmūd whom it intended to glorify by extolling his real or supposed virtues. But there are many gaps and incongruities. The picture has hitherto been both incomplete and synthetic. Excavations alone could provide material evidence and add precision to our knowledge.

Excavators seldom worry for the material remains of the mediaeval period. But the shrine of Somanātha did not merely attract attention but was crying for it. The Hon'ble Shri K. M. Munshi as Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Somanātha Board of Trustee very rightly moved for exavations which were undertaken under the direct guidance of the Department of Archaeology during the months of September-October, 1950, within a stiff schedule of a month and a half immediately before the demolition of the temple. The excavations are quite important, of course, for their own sake. They have settled many problems and have also provided much new information on the size and nature of the earlier temples buried below. They have fully demonstrated what results archaeological methods can bring about when directed against a site for which there exists an abundance of historical material.

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1. TOPOGRAPHY

(Pls. I-IV)

The town of Somanātha-paṭṭan locally known as Pātaṇ (20°-53' north lat. and 70°-24' east long.) is situated on the south-western coast of Saurāshṭra in the traditional Prabhāsa Kshetra—a place where the Yādavas are supposed to have fallen out amongst themselves and perished. About two miles further east, the three rivers—Saraswati, Hiraṇyā and Kapilā—before joining the sea, unite to form the *Triveṇi,* held unusually sacred as the scene of the cremation of the body of Lord Krishṇa —*Dehotsarga* (Pl. IV). Nearly a mile to the north-west is the famous *Bālkha Tirth* (Pl. III), the traditional spot of Lord Krishṇa's death—apotheosis. Much further inland rises the Gir range of hills or the Raivataka mountains of the *Mahābhārata* fame. The town proper is approached by a sufficiently good road from Verāval (upward of two miles only), a railway station on the Rajkot-Verāval line. The celebrated temple which enshrines in itself one of the twelve pre-eminent *jyotir-liṅgas* stands towards the south-western corner of the town on the sea shore itself from which it is separated by a heavily-built 'retaining' wall (Pl. I).

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(Pls. I, X, XIII-XIX and XXXII)

The origin of the temple of Somanātha is shrouded in obscurity; nor is its history complete as revealed by legends and traditions. Its location in and association with Prabhāsa have, no doubt, besides imparting some celebrity, contributed towards its antiquity, thus literally being the abode of the "Lord of the Moon". But whatever its origin, the stable element in its story is the strong determination on the part of the local populace to keep the temple alive and to restore its glory

even in the face of devastating raids which had become more or less regular after the great expedition led against it by Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazni in A.D. 1026; with the result that after each invasion some reconstruction or rehabilitation in the structure was inevitable.

The earliest historical reference to the temple, however, does not lead us much beyond the 10th century A.D. Moolrāj (A.D. 942-997), the Solānki ruler of Aṇhilawāda-Paṭṭan had paid a visit to Somanātha and had also worshipped there after defeating the Chudāsama ruler Grāharipu or Grāhario I who molested the pilgrims going to the celebrated shrine.

In A.D. 1025 Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazni, having heard the stories circulated by the Hindus that the invader could have destroyed no idol in India, had the idol of Somanātha been pleased with them, descended upon this temple with his iconoclastic zeal to dispel the *false* belief of the Hindus. After capturing the temple he ordered the *liṅga* to be disfigured and broken into pieces and thereafter the whole of the temple to be burnt to the ground. The Sultān did not stay there for more than a fortnight.[1] According to the *official* (contemporary) historians he turned away in haste since Paramadev, the great ruler of the Hindus, was advancing with a force to block the Sultān's way of retreat. With a view to avoiding a conflict, the Sultān had, therefore, to take a more westerly route through Cutch and Sind and thereafter reached safety after suffering great distress and hardships, as admitted both by Farrukhi and Gardizi.[2]

The Hindu king who opposed Maḥmūd in this expedition could be none other than Bhoja of Dhār whose dominions at that time extended to Kathiawār. Neither had any of his contemporaries the title of Paramāra. Bhimdeva of Aṇhilawāda-Pāṭṭan was merely a small king, possibly a vassal of Bhoja[3] himself and had fled away to Kānthkot on hearing the advance of the Sultān's army.[4] He came into prominence, which became retrospective, only after the death of Bhoja in A.D. 1053. It is, however, gathered that he was forming a confederacy of local rulers to pursue the Sultān's army. It is quite likely, therefore, that Bhoja may have been responsible for the rebuilding of the temple after

1 Muhammad Nāzim, *The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmud of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931) pp. 118, and 220. The later historians, however, make the Sultān stay there for almost three years since, according to them, he was so charmed with the climate that he had resolved to settle there. Nor is it stated by any contemporary authority that he left a governor to complete the destruction.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 119; Gardizi, *Zainu'l-Akhbār*, p. 87; and Farrukhi, Diwan, f. 20b and 25a.

3 K. M. Munshi, *The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, part III, the Imperial Gurjaras, (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1944), pp. 138-40.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 139, Muhammad Nāzim, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Gardizi, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

its destruction by Maḥmūd of Ghazni. Udaipur *praśasti of Bhoja* (undated) claims that he defeated the Turushkās (verse 19) and also built the Somanātha temple (verse 20).[1] Whereas A.D. 1169 inscription, now housed in the Bhadrakāli temple at Pātaṇ, credits Bhīmdeva (A.D. 1022-72) with the rebuilding of this temple. It distinctly states that it was Bhīmdev's temple which Kumārpāla had rebuilt.[2] The most reasonable hypothesis, therefore, is that both Bhīm and Bhoja had joined to rebuild the temple[3] and Kumārpāl's inscription referred to above, omitted the name of Bhoja probably because he belonged to another line of kings. This Bhoja-Bhīm temple may be taken to have been built somewhere in the second quarter of the 11th century A.D.

From the *Prabandha Chintāmani* of Merutuṇgācharya we gather that Mayanalladevi, wife of Karṇa Raja (son of Bhīmdev) and mother of Siddharāj visited the temple and on finding that the local ruler Panchakula was troubling the pilgrims asked her son to abolish the tax. About A.D. 1100 Jayasiṁh Siddharāja himself made a pilgrimage to the temple with the avowed motive of getting a son but there is no evidence to prove that he did anything towards its repairs.

In the Bhadrakāli temple inscription of A.D. 1169, it is stated that Jayasiṁha's successor Kumārpāla built a *meru* type of *prasād* at Somanātha. It repeats the *Paurāṇic* story that Somrāj built the temple of gold, Kṛishṇa of silver and Bhīma of large stones (verse 15). The inscription further tells us that Kumārpāl also raised the fortifications, constructed a *nṛpaśālā,* a well and a *paṭṭaśālikā* besides adorning the *kalaśās* of many smaller temples (verses 24-27). Parenthetically we also learn that the temple had gone into ruins because of the foolishness and the greed of the ministers (verse 18).[4] A *someśvaramaṇḍapa* called the *meghadhvani* was added to the main temple of Kumārpāl by Bhimdev II as revealed by *Sridhara Praśasti* of A.D. 1216 at Dev-Pattan (verse 23).[5]

The *Cintra Praśasti* of Śaranga Dev (A.D. 1292) refers to the building of five temples to the north of the *maṇḍapa* of Someśvara and also a *toraṇā* supported by two pillars by Gaṇḍa Tripurāntaka.[6]

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1 *Epigraphia Indica,* I (Calcutta, 1892) pp. 222-238.

2 *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat,* part 2 (Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay 4, 1935) Chalukya Vamsha Lekha, pp. 62-63.

3 K. M. Munshi, *op. cit.,* p. 140.

4 *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat, op. cit.,* pp. 62-3.

5 *Ibid.,* p. 106 and *Epigraphia Indica, op. cit.,* pp. 439-440.

6 *Ibid.,* pp. 271-287. The inscription previously having been removed from Somanātha is now located in the Quinta of Don John De Castro at Cintra in Portugal.

The temple which by this time had become quite big, however, could not escape desecration much longer. In A.D. 1297 Alaf Khan, a general of the Khilji rulers of Delhi, marched upon Kāthiawār and the ancient fane of the temple was again cast down. After the invader had turned his back another reconstruction of the temple was undertaken by the Chudāsama ruler, Mahīpāldev (A.D. 1308-1325) and was completed by his son, Rā Khangār (A.D. 1325-51). The latter is also credited with setting up a *liṅga* in the temple.[1]

An invasion of the temple in A.D. 1318 is also alluded to by Cousens,[2] but without any details regarding the invader. The next major invasion was in A.D. 1394 by Muzaffar Khan, a governor of Gujarat, who carried out a furious war against the neighbouring chiefs and once more destroyed the temple. Some sort of a temporary shrine must have been again built, since soon after in A.D. 1413 Ahmed Shah, the gand-son of Muzaffar, is said to have destroyed the temple of Sompura while returning from the battle against the Rā of Junāgadh. The local Hindu tradition, based mostly on Diwān Ranchodji Amarji's *Twarikh-i-Sorath* claims that Mahmūd Begda or Muzaffar II in A.D. 1459 again desecrated the temple. It is, however, accepted that he led an army against the Chudāsama ruler, Rā Māṇḍlik, who surrendered Junāgadh and himself embraced Islām. From now onwards the whole of Sorath came directly under the Muslims.

The temple, nevertheless, continued to function as the sacred shrine of the Hindus till A.D. 1669 when Aurangzeb ordered its demolition along with other notable Hindu shrines in the country.[3] But from the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* it appears that the devout Hindus defied the orders of the local governor and continued worshipping the deity till as late as A.D. 1706 when the shrine was ordered to be converted into a mosque. The accretions to suit the environments of a mosque comprised: (a) insertion of arches with *fleur-de-lis* pattern between the pillars of the nave in the *maṇḍapa* (pls. XIII-XV); (b) blocking the back of the *garbhagṛiha* by sweeping down the western portion of the *pradakśiṇā mārga* (pl. X); erecting minarets over the main entrance (pl. XVI); (d) raising the level of the *maṇḍapa* floor by an addition of about one-foot thick layer of roughly-hewn blocks of stones which entirely concealed the Hindu features at the *garbhagṛiha* door-step; (e) removal of the bracket-images from the *maṇḍapa* pillars supporting the ceiling and (f) conver-

1 Henry Cousens, *Somnāth and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiawad*, Archaeological Survey of India, Volume XLV, Imperial Series, (Calcutta, 1931), p. 25.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

3 K. M. Pannikar, *A Survey of Indian History* (Bombay, 1947) p. 195.

sion, essentially external, of the *vemāna* and the domical roof of the *maṇḍapa* into roughly built domes (pls. I and XVII-XIX).

Even as a mosque it does not seem to have been in use much longer since there is nothing to prove in the shape of repairs or maintenance. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* of Ali Mohammad Khan written in A.D. 1760 does not testify to its use as a mosque at that time.[1] The death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 1707 resulted in general disorder and widespread anarchy notably in the viceroyalty of Gujarat. The rapid succession of emperors on the imperial throne had undermined the solidarity of the empire; the Marathas were challenging the Mughal authority both in the peninsula and Gujarāt. Ahalyābāi in A.D. 1783, as a sequel to the Maratha conquest of the province erected a new shrine of Somanātha, a little distance away from this much-pillaged temple (Pl. XXXII). In December 1812, the Gaekwad of Baroda acquired the control over the shrine of Somanātha from the Nawāb of Junāgadh. As revealed by the writings of Lieut. Postans, near about A.D. 1838, the temple-roof was used as a battery for heavy ordnances to protect the neighbouring port of Verāval. Nearly a hundred years later, in A.D. 1922, the Hon'ble Shri K. M. Munshi found the *maṇḍapa* open to sky and being used as a stable (above p. 43). This, in brief, is the story of the temple before its proposed renovation.

3. INTRODUCTORY TO EXCAVATIONS

(Pls. V, VII, X, XI, XIII, XIV, XXVI and XXVII)

From the foregoing account it is clear that the temple was more or less neglected after the first quarter of the 18th century and was fast falling into ruins. The salt-laden damp sea breeze had joined to bring about an early decadence of the body fabric. It was not until the arrival of Lord Curzon that effective steps for the preservation of the monument were taken. On his initiation, a compound-wall was constructed and the enclosed area around the temple was levelled up. In the templ itself, at various places under-pinned masonries were inserted to save the superstructure from falling (pls. V-VII, X and XI). We need not agree with the technique of conservation, which was alike unscientific and crude but cannot deny the fact either that these measures to a large extent, were responsible for the survival of the monument till its demolition in November, 1950. The monument, no doubt, was in a very dilapidated condition and would not stand the weight of any superstructure proposed over it. The pillars and lintels of the *maṇḍapa* were in

1 Gaekwad Oriental Series, XLIII, English Translation (Baroda, 1928) pp. 118-20.

an advanced state of corrosion with all surface carvings obliterated (pls. XIII, XIV); the corbelled circles forming the ceiling shared with the pillars the general wreck; the outside of the temple, notably the sea side portion, was entirely honeycombed and the sculptures had weathered past recognition (pls. VI, XI, XXVI and XXVII).

The latest idea to reconsecrate the temple took shape in 1948. After Jūnāgadh's accession to India, the late Sarbar Vallabhbhai Patel visited Somanātha in the company of H. H. the Jām Sāheb of Nawānagar and having seen the condition of the temple and cogitating over its past glory and the sanctity attached to it, expressed that the temple should be re-built. Thereafter a Board named as Somanātha Board of Trustees was formed with H. H. the Jām Sāheb as the Chairman. To assist the Board on technical matters, an Advisory Committee consisting of Architects, Engineers and the Director-General of Archaeology in India was constituted with the Hon'ble Shri K. M. Munshi as the Chairman. This ushered a missionary zeal in the affairs of Somanātha. The Committee in its second meeting passed a resolution to the effect that excavations should be carried out in the temple for purposes of collecting all the data rgarding its early history. The excavations unfortunately were carried out in a summary fashion and were almost completely unanalytical. Without any depreciation of the information revealed, which was restricted essentially to the presentation of disjected phenomena, these excavations disturbed much of the strata in the process of discovery. Strangely enough, no presentable or precise records were maintained for all these soundings which numbered no fewer than twenty. Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, the then Director-General of Archaeology in India, disapproved of these excavations which subsequently were dis-continued. In the third meeting in July 1950, Shri M. S. Vats, the present Director-General, while reiterating the necessity for a careful and well-stratified excavation also laid down that detailed photographs, plans and elevations of the sides from inside and out and all the ceilings should be prepared and wherever excavations are made......the points should be carefully recorded both by drawings and by photographs." The Hon'ble Shri K. M. Munshi who, with great assiduity and admirable balance, had threaded the heterogeneous elements of Gujarat history into a coherent story[1] was very keen to recover the complete evidence regarding the Somnanātha temple and on the basis of his own original researches had framed a questionnaire to be worked upon by scientific digging. With a view to conducting proper excavations, I was deputed by the Director-General of Archaeology in

1 K. M. Munshi, *op. cit.*

India initially for a period of one month, which later on was extended to include another month. At the instance of the Hon'ble Shri K. M. Munshi, I was again sent for a week for further examination of the material during the demolition period.[1]

4. OBJECTS OF THE DIG AND A SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

(Figs. 1 and 2 and pls. V, VI, IX, XXII, XXIV, XXX, XLII, XLIII, XLVI, XLIX, LII and LIII)

As already stated, the history of this temple suffers from lack of material evidence. The recent "opening up" of the problem by about a month's digging does claim to reduce the proportions of the lacunae in our knowledge. The excavations, however, were regulated mainly by two objectives: (a) to ascertain the succession of structural periods or phases and to correlate them stratigraphically with other known or partly-known features and (b) to prove or disprove the hypothesis that the temple destroyed by Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazni lay somewhere near the Bhida temple.[2] With these ends in view, three trenches were laid out: (i) across the *garbhagṛha,* north-south; (ii) across the *maṇḍapa,* north-south and (iii) longitudinal, across the *garbhagṛha* and the *maṇḍapa,* east-west. Within these cuttings, the results achieved have been quite definitive and it has been possible to reconstruct, with some conviction, the essentials of the earlier temples.

Two structural phases preceded the construction of Kumārpāla (A.D. 1169) although there are indications to prove the existence of a still earlier structural activity. But the evidence revealed is so fragmentary that they have not been classed separately (See *infra* pp. 82-4). The earlier of these two, herein called Phase I, in conception, consisted of two chambers—a *garbhagṛha* and a *maṇḍapa*—approached on the east by a porch with stepped entrance (pl. XLVIII). Apparently this was the only entrance to the temple. The *maṇḍapa* was enclosed on three sides by dwarf walls (partially available on the east) possibly supporting inclined seats. The water outlet in the centre of the northern wall of the *garbhagṛha* (pl. XLII) and the *brahmaśila* point to its being a Śaivite temple. The latter rested on a square piece of Kanjur stone masonry, essentially hollow, resembling a deep cistern but filled in with alternate courses of rubble and laid stones and going as deep as the foundations themselves (fig. 1). The plinth of this temple was all plain

1 I am highly indebted to Shri U. J. Bhatt, Secretary P.W.D. and Chief Engineer Saurāshṭra Government and Shri P. K. Shunglu, Hon. Secretary, Somanātha Board of Trustees for the generous assistance in the execution of the work.

2 Muhammad Nāzim, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-214.

save the foliate scroll on the medial moulding. Some portions of the temple, notably the entrance steps, the *maṇḍapa* floor and the *brahmaśila* show signs of deliberate breakages which could, on some plausibility, be attributed to Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazni. At places one could still notice black spots, obviously charred, indicative of intense firing to which the temple was subjected by the Sultān (above p. 74). The interstices of the floor stones in the *maṇḍapa* were found to contain molten lead filling. The whole of the temple was built of a distinctive thin-grained reddish sandstone.

Phase II temple very closely followed the plan and conception of Phase I and in contradistinction to the latter was built of whitish sandstone of comparatively coarser grain. This too was a Śaivite temple evidenced by another water outlet nearly 1″-3″ immediately above the former (pl. XLII.) Its plinth was super-imposed over the earlier plinth and was also of identical height (pls. XLVI and XLIX). Since this temple was built over the débris of the earlier one, raising of the floor-level, both inside and outside, was inevitable. Although constructed in the 11th century A.D., it was devoid of the customary *pītha* with string courses of elephants, horses and men. It followed the pattern of the preceding temple. Besides having the foliate scroll on the medial moulding, its plinth on the upper half had three sculptured pieces on either face, distributed equally into the entire length of the *maṇḍapa*. The *garbhagṛha* plinth is not available (pl. XLVII). A noteworthy 11th century feature is the seemingly octagonal arrangement of the *maṇḍapa* pillars for the nave (fig. 2). There was no entrance to the *maṇḍapa* from the north or the south. In plan the *garbhagṛha* and the *maṇḍapa* of both these temples fitted into a rectangle, a feature of the rather earlier temples.[1]

The structure built by Kumārpāla in A.D. 1169 with all later additions and reconstructions, forms the ruins of the popularly called old Somanātha temple. Phase III is, therefore, a composite phase representing the developments of nearly 550 years.[2] It is different alike in design and plan from the two temples referred to above. Notable features of this temple are (a) the basement moulding or the *mahāpītha* (pl. XXIX); (b) the axial length being diagonal of both the *garbhagṛha* and the *maṇḍapa* (fig. 2); (c) the enlarged *maṇḍapa* and the *pradakṣiṇā mārga* with opening on the south and north (pls. V, VI and IX) and also on the west in case of the latter; (d) the design of the pillars

1 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), (Taraporewala, Bombay, 1942) p. 143.

2 For an authenticated description of the temple, see Henry Cousens, *op cit.*, pp. 11-33.

(Pl. XXII) and the octagonal arrangement of the nave; (e) ornate style of the *mandovara* with sculptures even in the recesses (pls. XI and XXIV); (f) introduction of the black basalt stone for the flooring both in the *maṇḍapa* and the *garbhagṛha*.

Likewise the sea-wall, too, had three distinct stages of building including the one attributed to Kumārpāla. In the first stage it was much nearer the temple, being only 67 feet away from its southern face. Built on sound foundations, it was nearly 5 feet wide at the top. This, in origin, was earlier than Phase I of the temple. A reconstruction contemporaneous with Phase I of the temple, however, is clearly discernible when its width was increased to 6 feet (Pl. LII).

Associated with Phase II of the temple is the scrappy revetment which was built in a stepped fashion (pl. LIII) 11 feet further south over the sloping débris of the earlier sea-wall which evidently could not have survived the invasion of Sultān Maḥmūd.

In the third stage, the nature and the size of the sea-wall underwent a considerable change; from sea-wall it was turned into a fort wall.[1] It was in consonance with the elaborately resurrected temple which Kumārpāla had constructed. Built about 6 feet further south, it had a basal width of nearly 40 feet and had the outside face battered (pl. LII). This 6 feet space in between its inner face and the earlier revetment was filled in with earth and small stone débris. Like the temple, this fort-wall must have been repaired from time to time until Lord Curzon, finding it completely neglected and possibly also collapsed, built a narrower wall over its top as one of the measures for the conservation of the shrine. The overall extant height of this sea-wall was 20 feet and the width at the top which was also provided with a rampart-walk consisted of only 8 feet.

5. DESCRIPTION OF THE CUTTINGS[2]

Cutting across the Garbhagṛha

(Figs. 1 and 2 and pls. XLI-XLVII)

Previous excavations in the *garbhagṛha* had exposed in its northern wall two water-outlets, one below the other and two *brahmaśilas* of which one was found *in situ* while the other in the north-eastern corner of the sanctum. The latter evidently had been displaced from its

1 cf. also Bhadrakāli temple inscription.

2 Within the scope of this short report these descriptions are not intended to be exhaustive.

original position of which no reliable record exists. The strata around the former had also been dug out in the process of its discovery (fig. 1).

With a view to ascertaining the full sequence of reconstructions and relating them with the known floor-level a trench, 155 feet long, 5-10 feet wide was laid across the *garbhagṛha;* the portion of the trench within the cella was only 5 feet wide. At places the trench was carried down to the natural soil which was reached at an average depth of 17 feet below the present surface. The reconstructions fall into three broad phases, I-III with sub-phases into the latter.

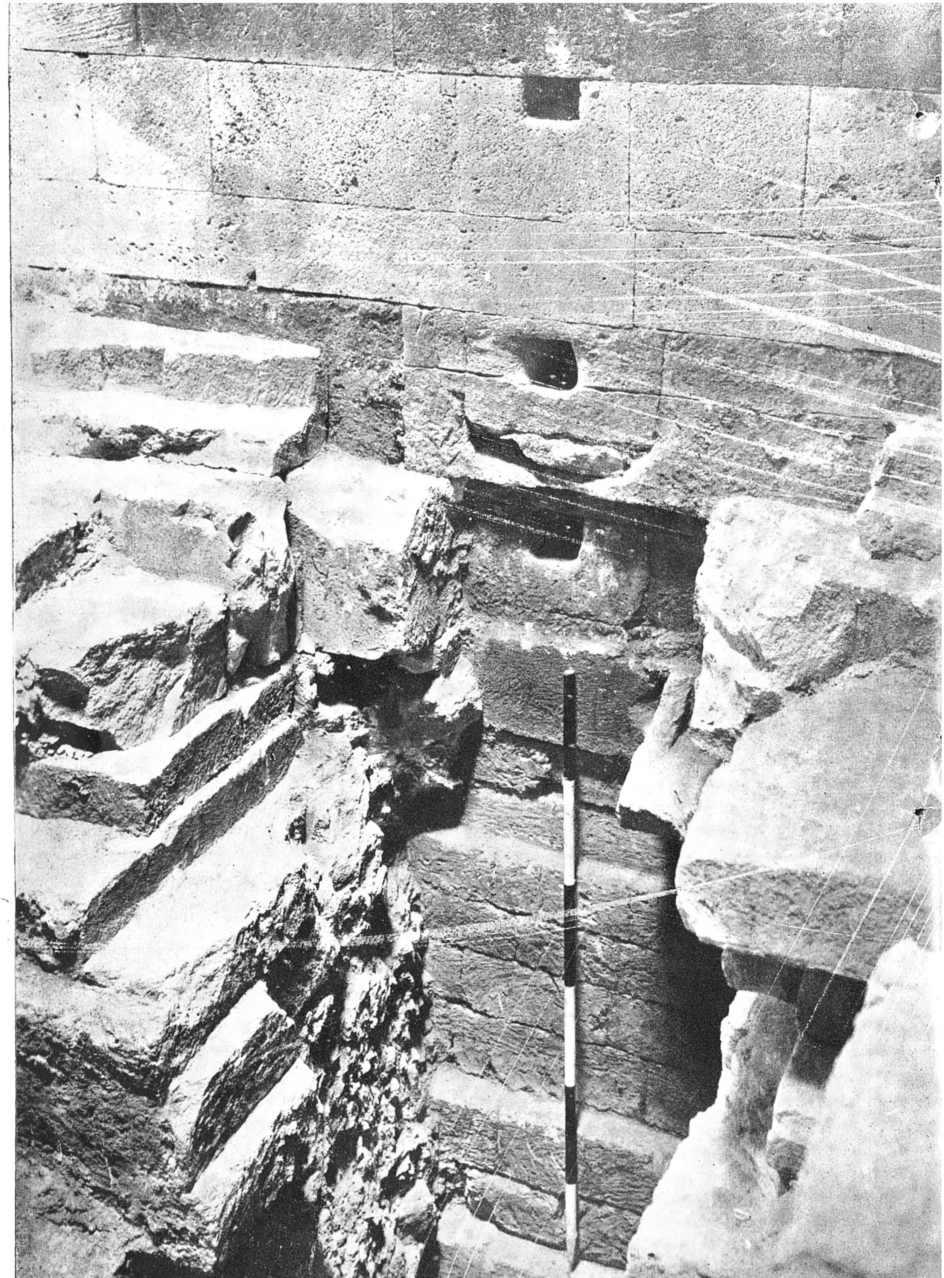
Phase I.—The temple stood on solid *Kanjur* stone foundations about 90 feet wide narrowing down to a depth of upwards of 13 feet below the then ground level. It was built of thin-grained reddish sandstone of which only two courses of a total height of 2½ feet are available. Contemporaneous with this are: a water outlet 'A' (4½″ wide and 6″ high) pierced in the northern wall of the *garbhagṛha* (Pl. XLII) and a *brahmaśila* which rested on a square piece of dry-built Kanjur stone masonry, essentially hollow resembling a deep cistern, but filled in with rubble and alternate courses of well-laid stones and going as deep as the foundations themselves. The top of the *brahmaśila* is marginally chamfered to a width of 6″ on all the four sides leaving an area of 3½ feet square in the centre. The functional utility of this is difficult to determine in the absence of the *liṅga* which was placed over it and to which presumably it relates.[1] The circum-ambulatory passage around the *garbhagṛha* was 9 feet 6 inches wide. On the west, however, no traces of this exist since the site has been very badly pillaged. The available plinth of the *garbhagṛha* measuring 3 feet in height was all plain save the medial recesses. (Pls. XLVI and XLVII). The bottom of the outlet which was 5 feet 11 inches higher than the outside ground level was the first floor-level inside the *garbhagṛha.* Between this and the ground-level, the core of the filling consisted of Kanjur stone masonry pointed with lime mortar. (Pl. XLIII) On the south 20 to 21 feet away from the outside face of the Phase I temple, was encountered a Kanjur stone retaining wall 6 feet high, 10 feet wide at the base and battered on both sides to a width of nearly 8 feet at the extant top (Pl. XLIV). This is a pre-Phase I wall since some of the stones in the foundation of Phase I are seen over-riding and are, therefore, structu-

1 According to the *śilpa śastras* liṅga is divided into three equal parts, viz., *brahma bhāg, vishnu bhāg* and *shiva bhāg.* Of these, the first, which also is the lowermost, is square in section. The second, comprising the portion encompassed by the *jaladhārī* or the *yonipaṭṭa* is octagonal while the third, being the portion visible to the eye is round. The centrally squared space of the *brahmaśila* may thus provide a clue to the intended length of the *liṅga.*

PLATE XLI

Somanātha, the Cutting across the Garbhagṛha: close-up of the three water-outlets on the outside of the cella. The drain in the foreground corresponds to the middle one but also served for the upper one

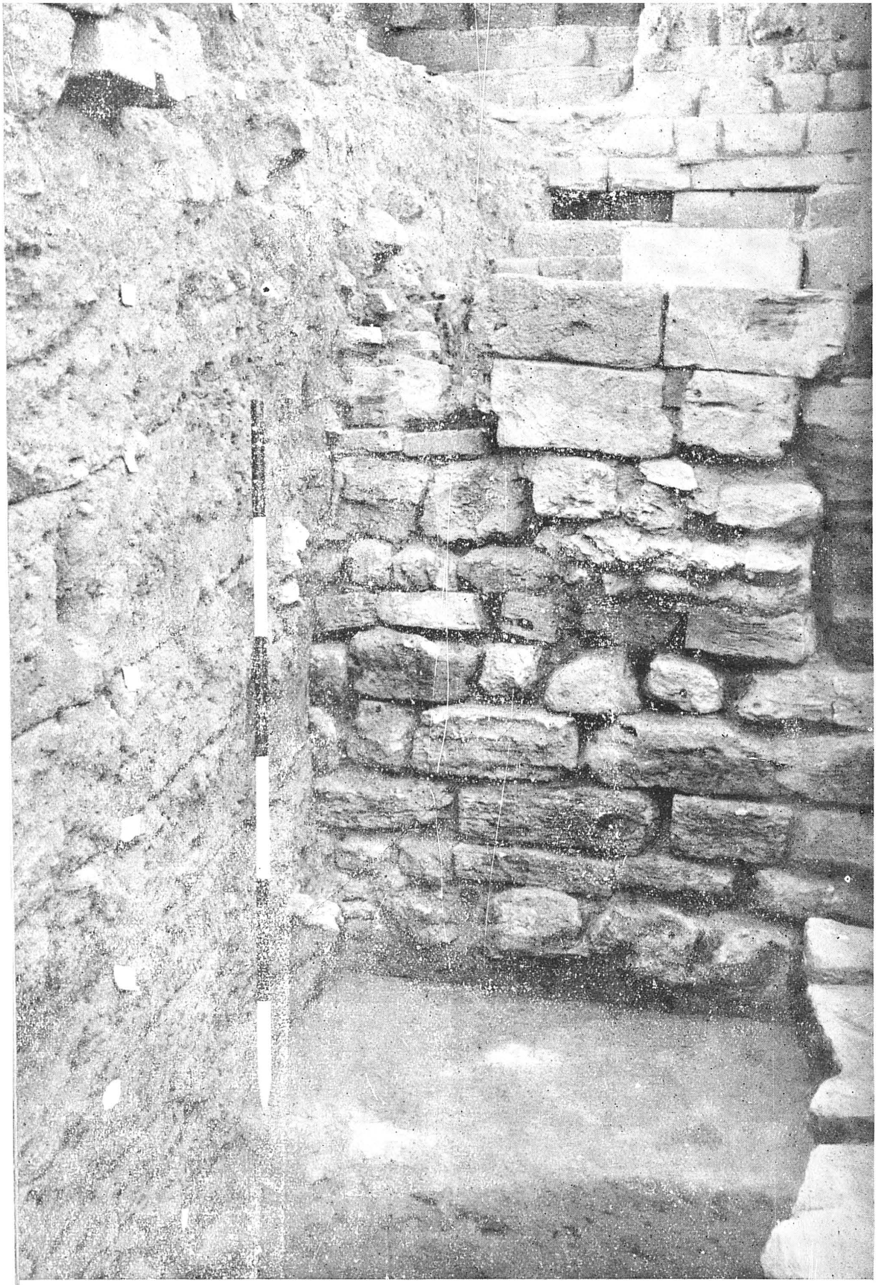
PLATE XLII



Somanātha, the Cutting across the Garbhagṛha: close-up of the three outlets pierced in the northern wall of the cella, also showing a part of the Kanjur stone masonry, the upper four feet of which is pointed with lime. Mark the different quality of stone used in the masonry corresponding to each of the outlets

Somanātha, the Cutting across the Garbhagṛha: close-up of the foundation-masonry of temple 3 (Phase I temple), looking north from inside of the cella. The bottom of the upper pole roughly corresponds to the ground level of this temple

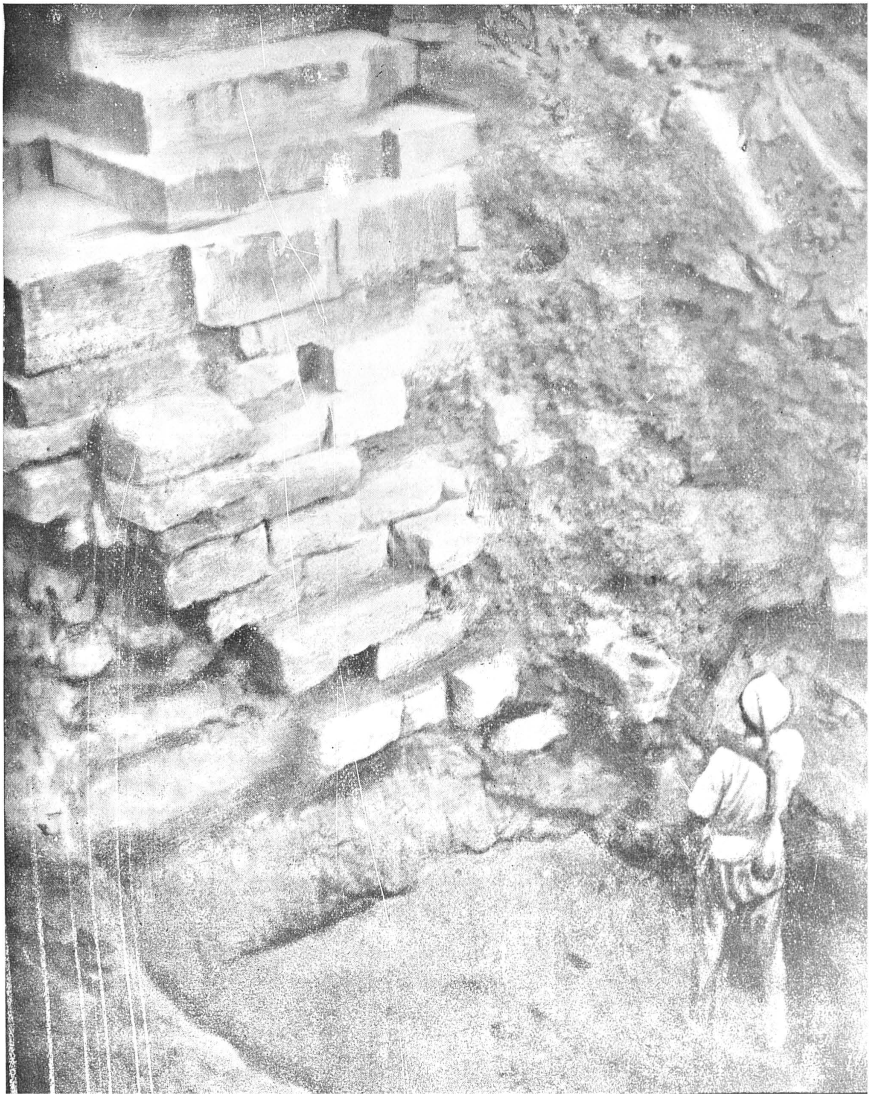
PLATE XLIV



Somanātha, the Cutting across the Garbha-gṛha: close-up of the southern face of the Kanjur stone retaining wall related to Temple 2 (pre-Phase I temple)

PLATE XLV

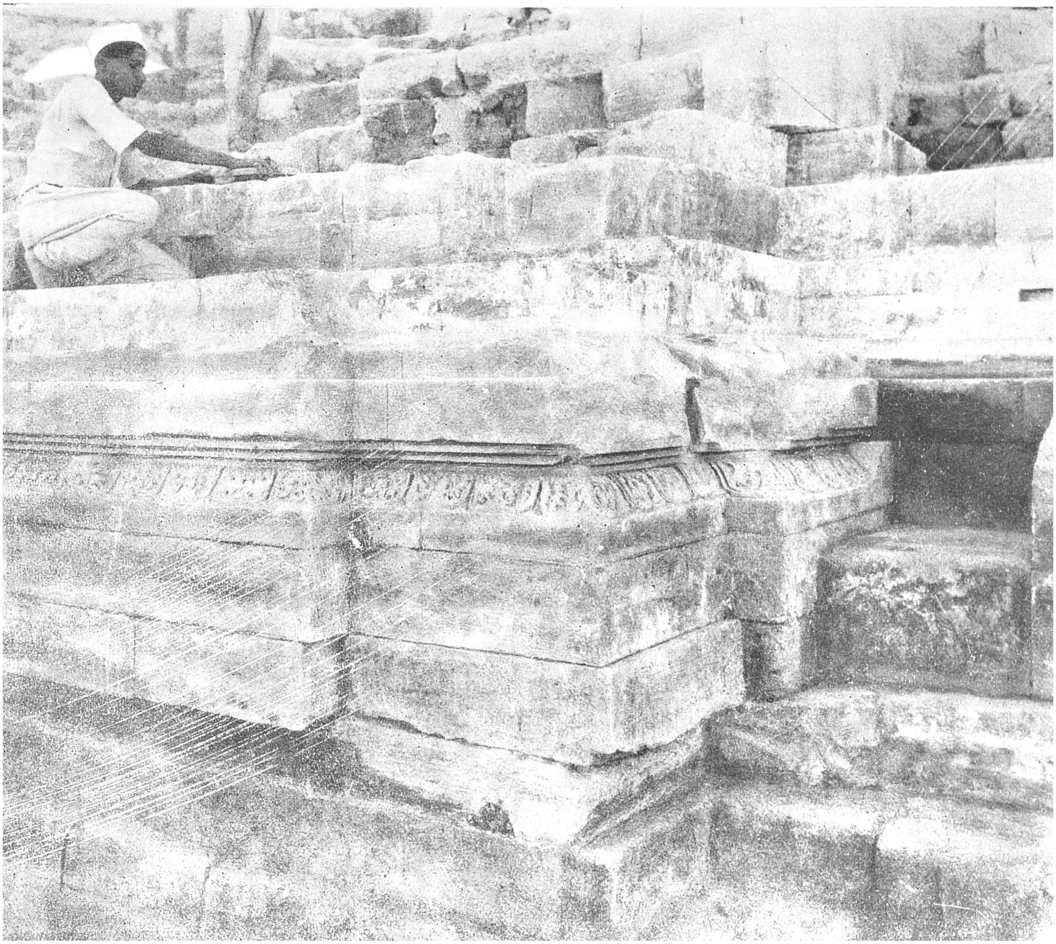
Somanātha, the Cutting across the Garbhagṛha: closer view showing the foundations of Temple 3 (Phase I temple) at the north-western corner and subsequent despoliation in the right half

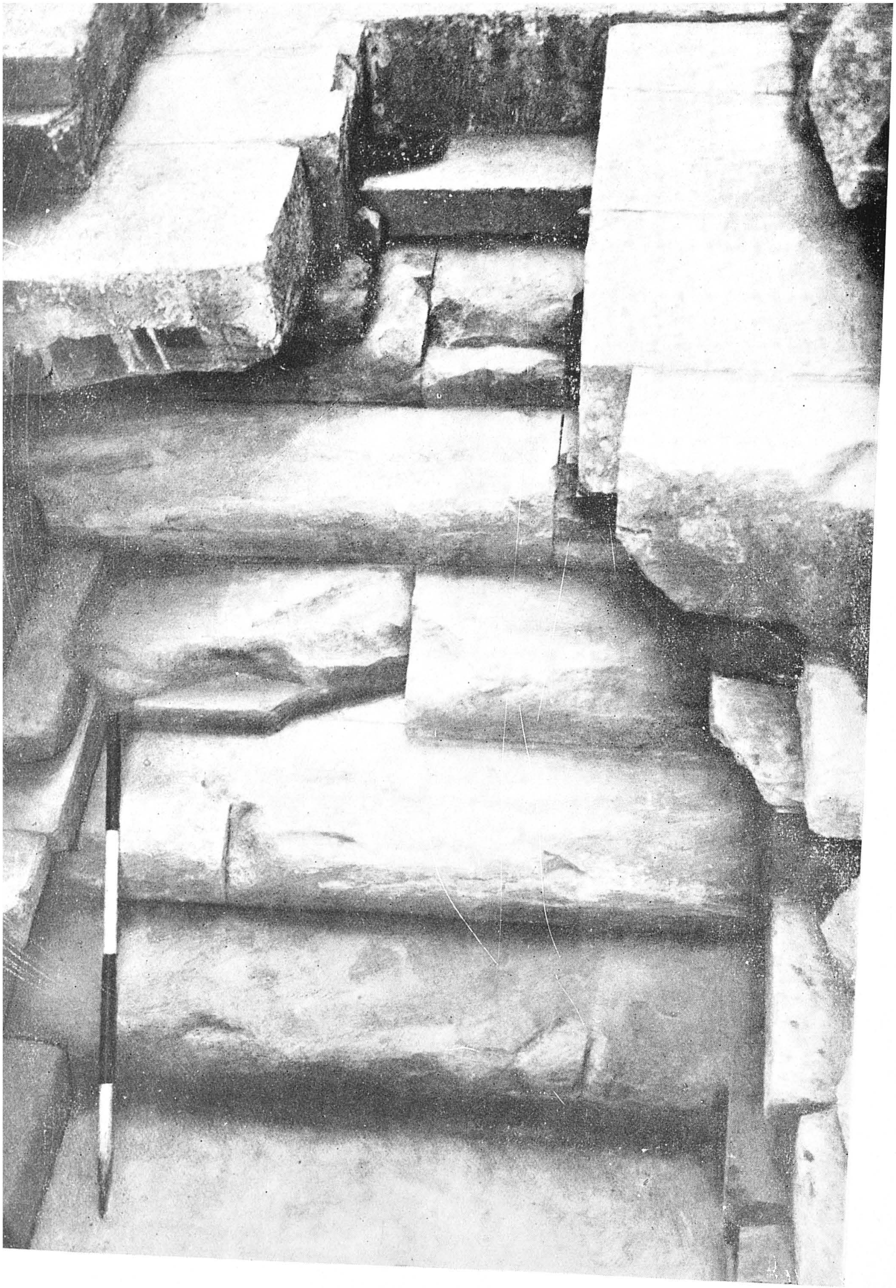


Somanātha, the Cutting across the Garbhagṛha: closer view showing the plinths of temples 3 and 4 (Phases I-II temples)

PLATE XLVI

Somanātha, the Cutting across the Garbhagṛha: closer view of the plinth of temple 3 (Phase I temple). The figure on top left corner is shown brushing the floor equated to it in the maṇḍapa





Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa and the garbhagṛha: entrance-steps of Temple 3 (Phase I temple). The edges of these are, at places, seen deliberately broken

PLATE XLVIII

rally later than the Kanjur stone wall which, presumably, was a part of an independent structure (Fig. 1). In the foundation itself, were observed many sculptured stone pieces used as filling indicating the presence, in the neighbourhood, of a still earlier structure the débris of which was utilised for the foundation-filling.

Phase II.—In Phase II the *garbhagṛha* underwent little change as far as the size was concerned. Because of the accumulated débris of the earlier temple the raising of the floor-level both inside and outside the *garbhagṛha* was inevitable. Inside, the floor-level is indicated by another water outlet 'B', 1 foot 5 inches above the former (fig. 1 and pl. XLII). It measures 4½ inches wide and 5 inches high. The earlier *liṅga* of the temple had since been uprooted and broken, in Phase II, a new *liṅga* was installed on the same *brahmaśila* which presumably was left undisturbed only so far as its position was concerned. On the outside, the water outlet discharged itself into a regular shallow drain carved into the stone. Of this phase in the *Garbhagṛha,* only one course of stone and a few floor-stones were left. The circumambulatory passage was of the same width as that of Phase I. The plinth of this phase was not available within the width of the trench (Pls. XLVI and XLVII).

Phase III.—This phase, ascribable to Kumārapāl (A.D. 1169), witnessed an enlargement of the temple. It is significant, however, that the size of the *garbhagṛha* remained the same whereas the *pradakśiṇā mārga* was extended to an overall width of about 12 feet. It, however, did not result in any raising of the floor-level in the *garbhagṛha* since between A.D. 1030 and 1169 there was no invasion of the temple to warrant for the desecration of the *liṅga* and the same, therefore, continued to be worshipped. Distinctive of this phase is the use of the black basalt stone. Inside the *garbhagṛha,* wherever the old flooring had worn out, it was replaced by black basalt stones. In the water outlet 'B', a carved drain piece of this black stone was inserted to ensure against leakage of water into the wall itself (Pl. XLI). Of the same variety of stone a new *jalādhāri* which encompassed the standing *liṅga* in two halves was substituted. One such piece was found lying in the south-west corner of the cella. Both in the *pradakśiṇā mārga* and on the outside, the floor-level was raised by about 9-11 inches. The plinth of this phase was elaborately carved in *mahā pītha* tradition (Pls. IX, XII, XXVIII and XXIX). The width of the *garbhagṛha* along the section was about 72 feet. It appears that from here onwards, the *garbhagṛha* walls were never pulled down, since the same type of masonry continues upto the existing height. 1 foot 10 inches immediately above water-outlet 'B' is the outlet 'C', 5 inches in height and

the same in width. This raising of the floor-level synchronized with the use of the other *brahmaśila* (fig. 1). The latter is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square and is similarly chamfered marginally to a width of 6 inches. In the central space are also to be seen nine holes.

Cutting across the Maṇḍapa (Fig. 2 and pls. XLIX-LXI)

Previous excavations had laid bare 5 feet 9 inches below surface a flooring immediately outside the northern approaches to the *maṇḍapa* (Pl. L). The precise relation of this with the structures was, however, not known.

With a view to relating *inter alia* the existing sea-wall with any known phase of the temple, a trench 344 feet long and 8-15 feet wide was laid across the *maṇḍapa*. The natural soil to which the cutting was carried at some selected places was reached at an average depth of 16 feet 6 inches below the present surface. The same three phases were met with in this cutting as well.

Phase I.—Like the *garbhagṛha*, the *maṇḍapa* too was built on solid Kanjur stone foundations going about $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep below the present surface. The maximum width of the *maṇḍapa* was 56 feet. The intended height of its plinth was 5 feet 6 inches of which 3 feet 2 inches only was available (Pl. XLIX). It appears that the upper half of the plinth, which may have been considerably despoiled by the invader, was bodily removed when building Phase II *maṇḍapa*. The *maṇḍapa* floor-level was 5 feet 6 inches higher than the outside ground level (Pl. XLVII). Within the width of the trench, on the *maṇḍapa* floor, were found remains of three pillar-bases each of which, on plan, was 1 foot 7 inches square with recessed corners. Two of these also bear leaf designs over them. The floor-stones of the *maṇḍapa* were found to contain molten lead in the interstices. Associated with this phase on the north was a flooring the extent of which, as determined by this trench, was upwards of 76 feet from the northern face of the *maṇḍapa* (Pls. L and LI). Below this flooring and separated from it by 4 inches of lime pebble accumulation was another flooring of softer Kanjur stones. The latter outstretched the limits of the former by 62 feet (Pl. LI). The exact relationship of this flooring with the temple was, however, not wholly clear. Other pre-Phase I structures met with in this trench comprised the sea-wall and a Kanjur stone retaining wall running roughly parallel along the length of the temple on the south. This possibly is a continuation of the one discovered in the Cutting across the *Garbhagṛha*. The former (ie. the sea-wall) was built of lime stone on 18 feet wide foundations and was available to a height of 3 feet (Pl.

LIII). At the time of the construction of Phase I temple the width of the sea-wall was increased from 5 feet to 6 feet. (Pls. LII and LIII).

Phase II.—The *maṇḍapa* of Phase II was of the same width as that of Phase I. Its plinth, which was 5 feet 6 inches in height, was raised from the top of the lower half of the earlier plinth (Pl. XLIX). This involved raising of the floor-level by about 3 feet 9 inches (Pl. LX). In the filling, in between the two floor levels, can be seen many carved stone pieces. Associated with this floor are six octagonal pillar bases, each side of which measures 1 foot 3 inches (fig. 2). These pillars when reconstructed conform to an otagonal arrangement for the nave. Further clearances of this plinth showed that on either side, on its upper half, it contained three sculptured pieces distributed along the entire length of the *maṇḍapa* (Pls. LIV-LVII). It is significant that on the south, i.e., towards the sea, these sculptures depicted images of gods while on the north they formed mere floral patterns. The images were enclosed in a niche of fret work. One of these contained Śiva *Tripurāntaka* (Pls. LVIII) while the other *Lakuleśwara* (Pl. LIX). The location of the third, however, was found badly damaged.

The sea-wall associated with this phase consisted of scrappy revetments built in a stepped fashion, on the sloping débris of the earlier sea-wall from which it was separated by 11 feet (Pl. LIII).

Phase III.—Phase III represents the enlarged temple of Kumārapāla and its subsequent repairs. The width of the *maṇḍapa* was extended to 74 feet and both on the south and the north stepped entrances were provided. Each of these measures 6 feet 5 inches wide. In the extension filling of this temple were seen sculptured images some times also upturned, ceiling-stone pieces and many other carved stones (Pl. LXI). It appears that whatever rough and ready material was at hand, they utilised it for their purpose. The *maṇḍapa* was built in the typical post 11th century architecture of Gujarat. But as is customary, the floor-level inside the *maṇḍapa* was not in level with the top of the *narthara*. Possibly the level inside was conditioned more by the earlier floor levels both in the *maṇḍapa* and the *garbhagṛha* than by architectural principles. Characteristic of this phase was the black basalt stone which was used for the flooring both in the *maṇḍapa* and in the *garbhagṛha*. The floor-level in the former was only 9-11 inches higher than the preceding floor of Phase II. The entrance steps on the south had completely disappeared while on the north they were only partially available. Here they extended to a length of 23 feet from the threshold. The sea-wall contemporaneous with this phase was built 6 feet further south from the outside face of the revetment of Phase II. The intervening space

was filled up with loose earth and small stone débris. It had a basal width of nearly 40 feet and rose imposingly with a battered frontage to a height of 20 feet. The top 6 feet and 6 inches of this wall were built at the instance of Lord Curzon in the early decades of this century (pl. LII). The stones of this wall showed signs of extensive exposure and weathering.

Subsequent repairs of the *maṇḍapa* floor indicated the use of yellow stones which, because of being subjected to intense firing, had become red. One of these yellow floor-stones bears an incomplete inscription in *devanāgri* script dated Vikrama Saṁvata 1657, thereby testifying to the use of the floor till that date. With a little bit of rehabilitation the floor-level inside the *maṇḍapa* remained the same until the year 1706 when the temple was converted into a mosque and a one-foot thick layer of roughly-hewn stones was added to conceal the earlier Hindu features notably at the *garbhagṛha* door-step (Pl. XXXI).

Longitudinal Cutting across the Maṇḍapa and the Garbhagṛha
(Pls. XXXI and XLVIII)

In order to relate the floor levels in the *maṇḍapa* with those in the *garbhagṛaha* and also to know the extent of the temple on the east and the nature of the main entrance, a longitudinal cutting 6 feet wide was made across the *Maṇḍapa* and the *Garbhagṛha*. All the three phases met with in the other two cuttings were also represented here.

Excavations revealed that Phase I temple consisted of two chambers only—*garbhagṛha* and *maṇḍapa*—with an overall length of upwards of 64 feet. The entrance to the temple was through a porch, access to which could be obtained by means of six steps of a total height of 4 feet (Pl. XLVIII). The average height of a riser was 8 inches and the width of a tread 15 inches. At some places the edges of these steps were found broken, evidently not by usage which normally would result in rounding off, but by the hand of the invader. The porch measures 15 feet 5 inches long and 18 feet wide. The floor-level inside the *garbhagṛha* was roughly 6 inches higher than that of the *maṇḍapa,* which in turn was 4 inches higher than that of the porch.

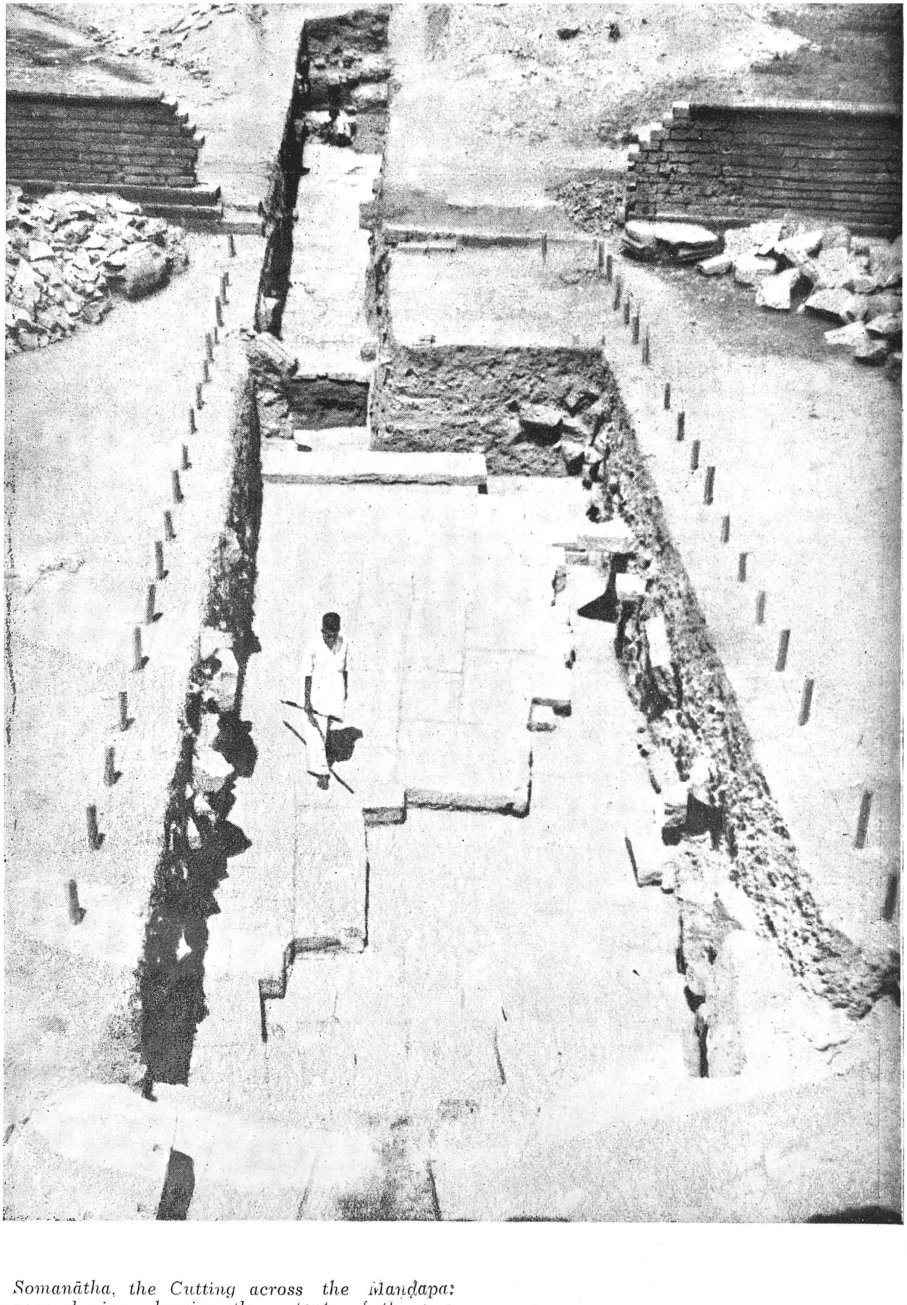
Phase II.—In conception and in size the temple of this phase closely resembled Phase I. It was actually superimposed over the earlier plinth. As already stated, the floor-level in the *maṇḍapa* was raised by 3 feet 9 inches. In the *garbhagṛha* there was not so much of raising. The extent of the *maṇḍapa* on the east is indicated by the pavement-stone mouldings. The entrance steps on the east were not

Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: close-up of a part of the northern plinths of temples 3 and 4 (Phases I and II temples). The top of the fifth foot on the scale indicates the outside ground level coeval with temple 4

PLATE XLIX

PLATE L

Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: closer view showing the floors of two different periods below the northern entrance steps of Kumārapāl's maṇḍapa. Mark the lime pebble accumulation between the two



Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: general view showing the extents of the two earlier floorings discovered on the northern side of the temple. The raised horizontal course in the middle marks the end of the upper while the lower outstretches its limits and continues upto the seated figure in the farther distance, view from the south

PLATE LI

Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: general view showing different stages of the sea-wall, after excavation, the figure in the middle distance points to the sea-wall equated with pre-Phase I and Phase I temples(Temples 2 and 3) while the ladies are shown working on the sea-wall of Phase III (Temple 5). The wall in shade at the top is the one built at the instance of Lord Curzon as a measure of conservation, view from north

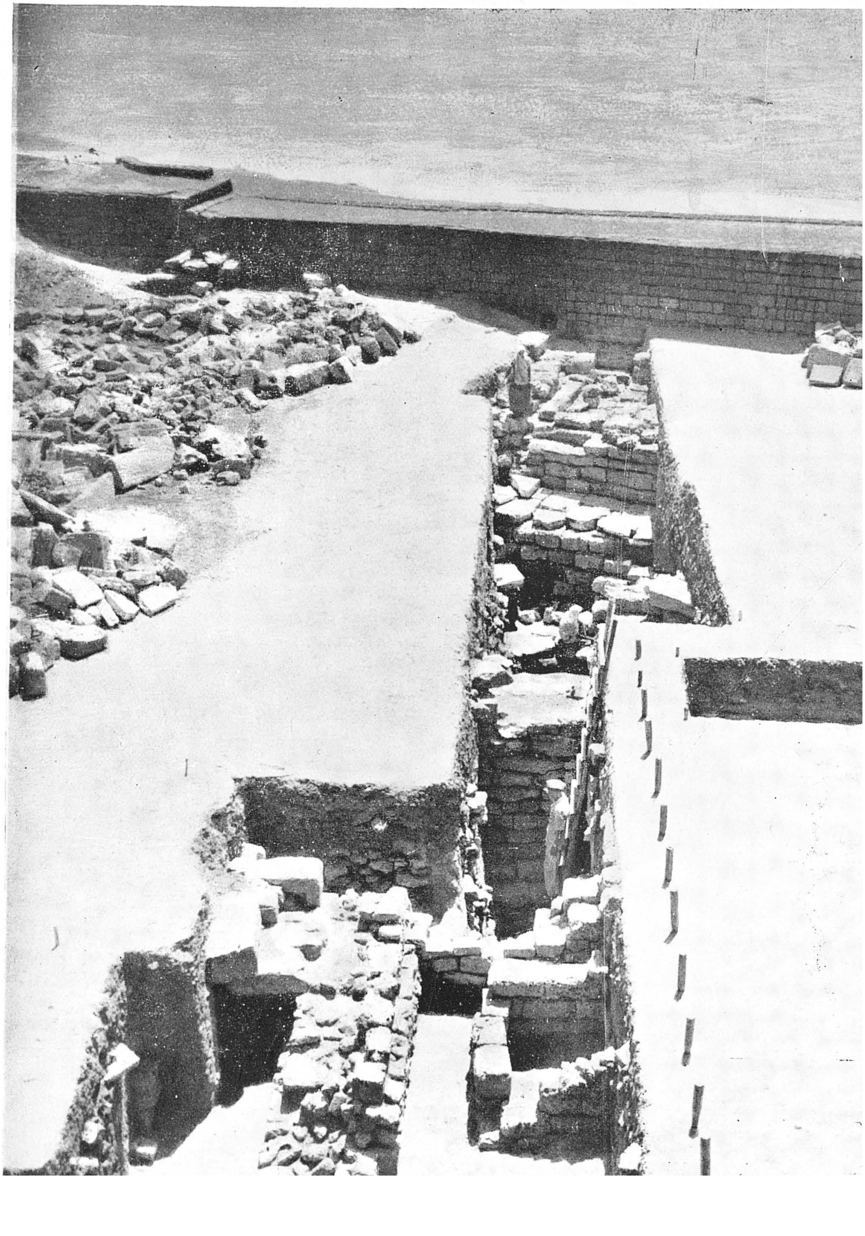
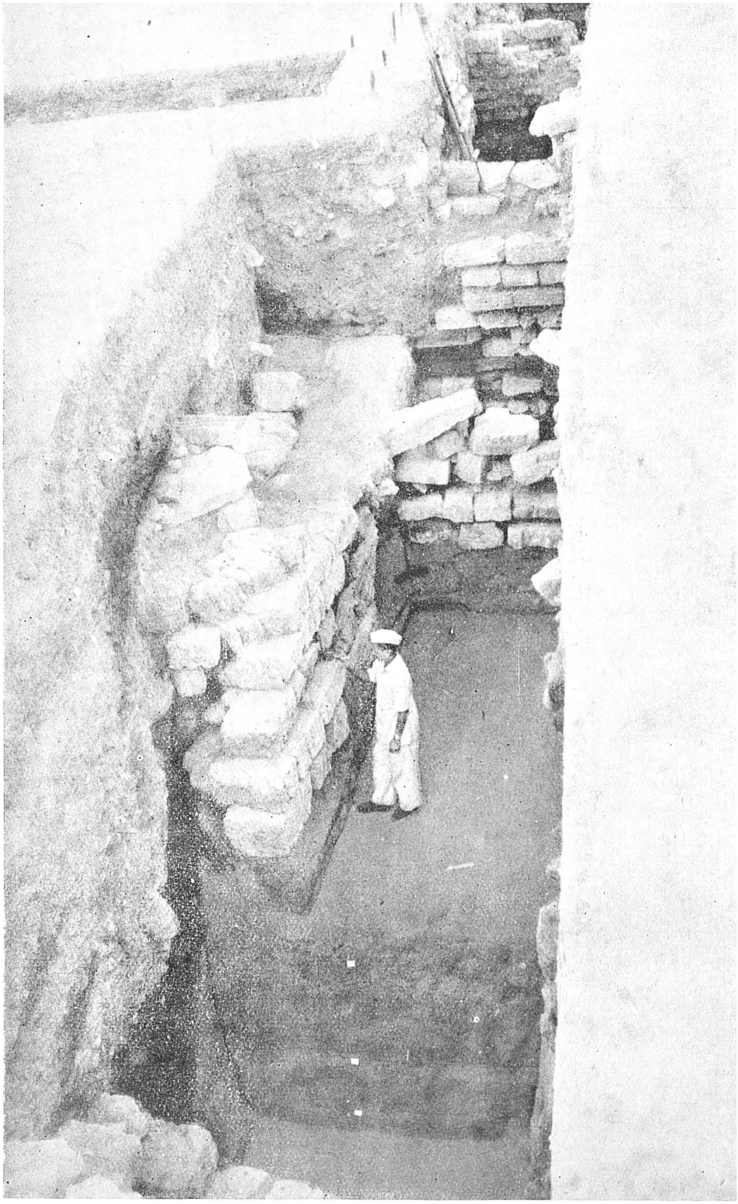
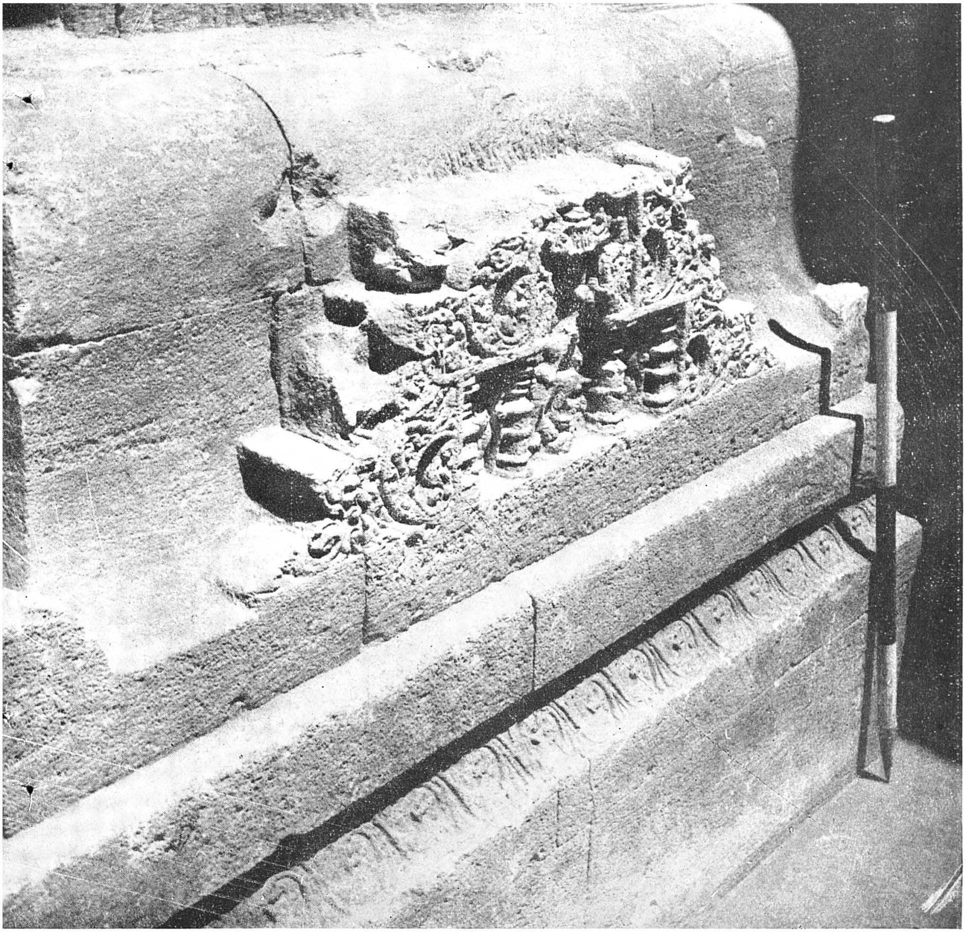


PLATE LII



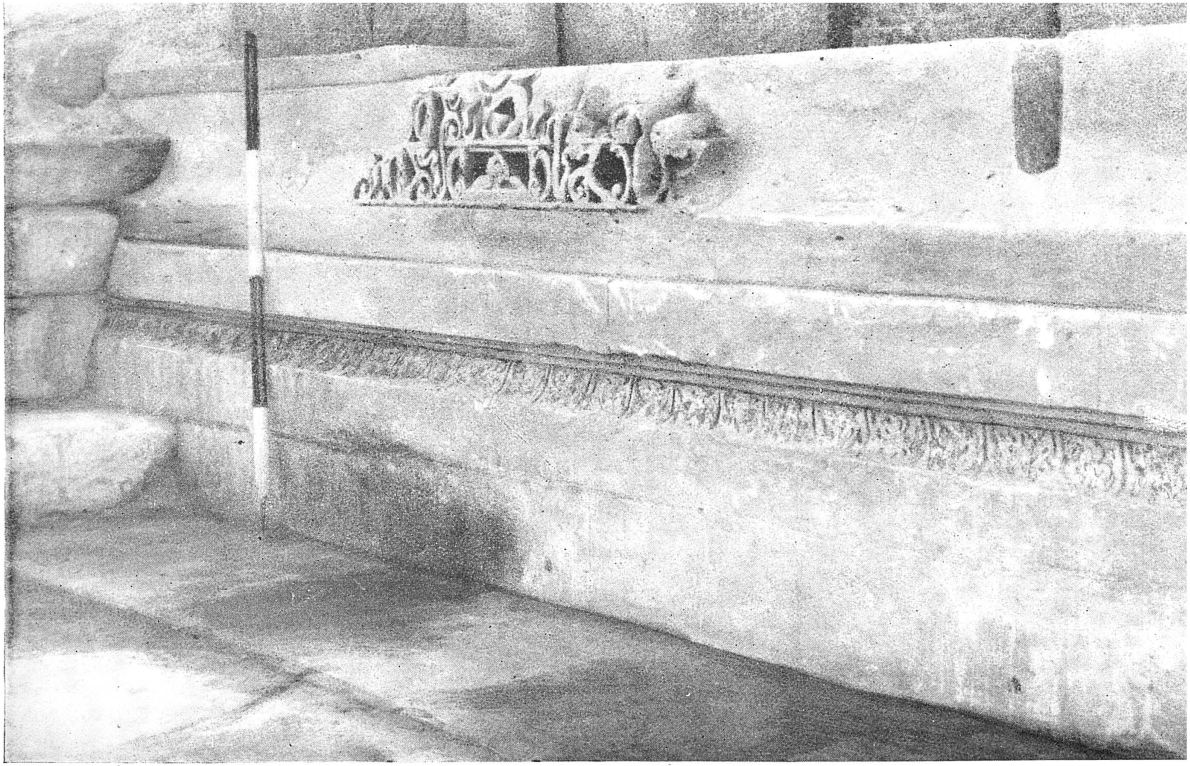
Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: general view showing different stages of the sea-walls, after excavation; the ladder is seen placed behind the sea-wall of Phase I; the figure points to stepped revetment of Phase II and in the bottom left corner can be seen a few stones of the Phase III (Temple 5) fort-wall, view from south

Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: general view, after clearance, of plinth along the southern face of Temple 4 (Phase II temple).



Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: closer view, during excavation, of a part of the plinth along the southern face of Temple 4 (Phase II temple)

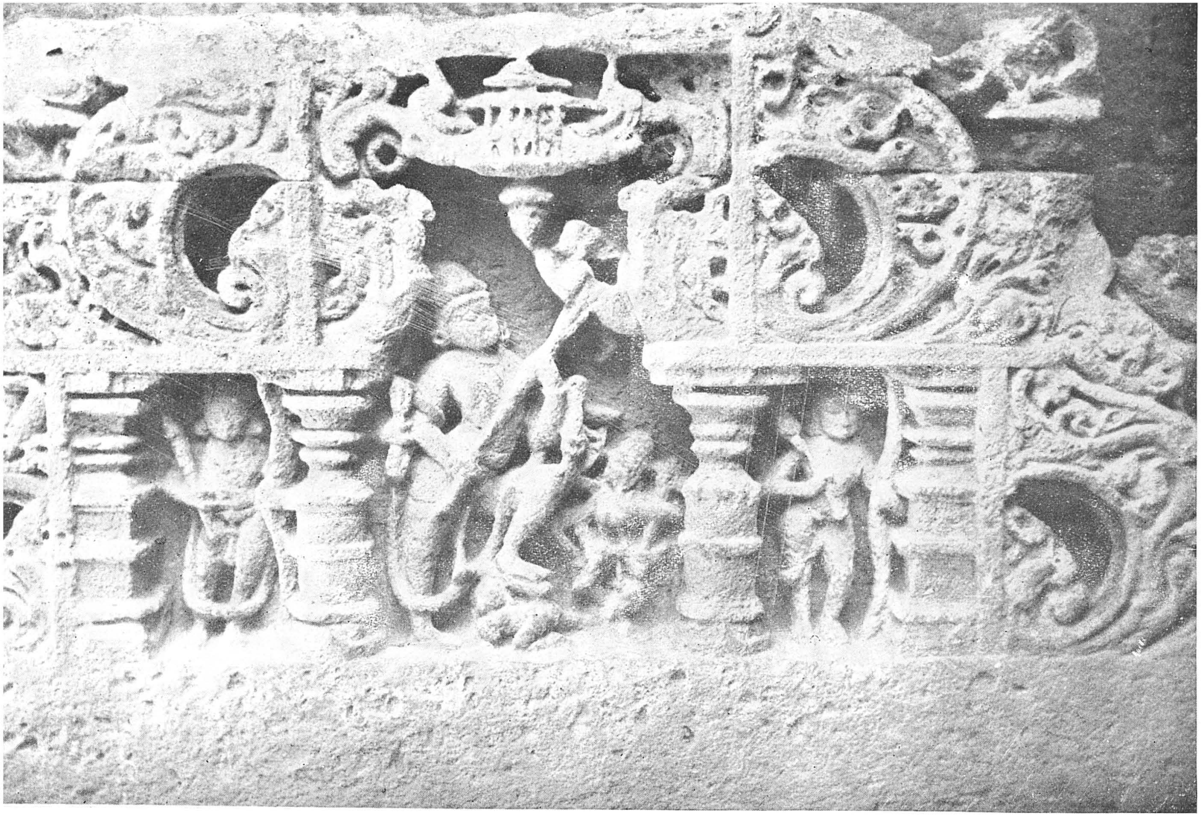
PLATE LVI



Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: general view, after clearance of the plinth along the northern face of Temple 4 (Phase II temple)

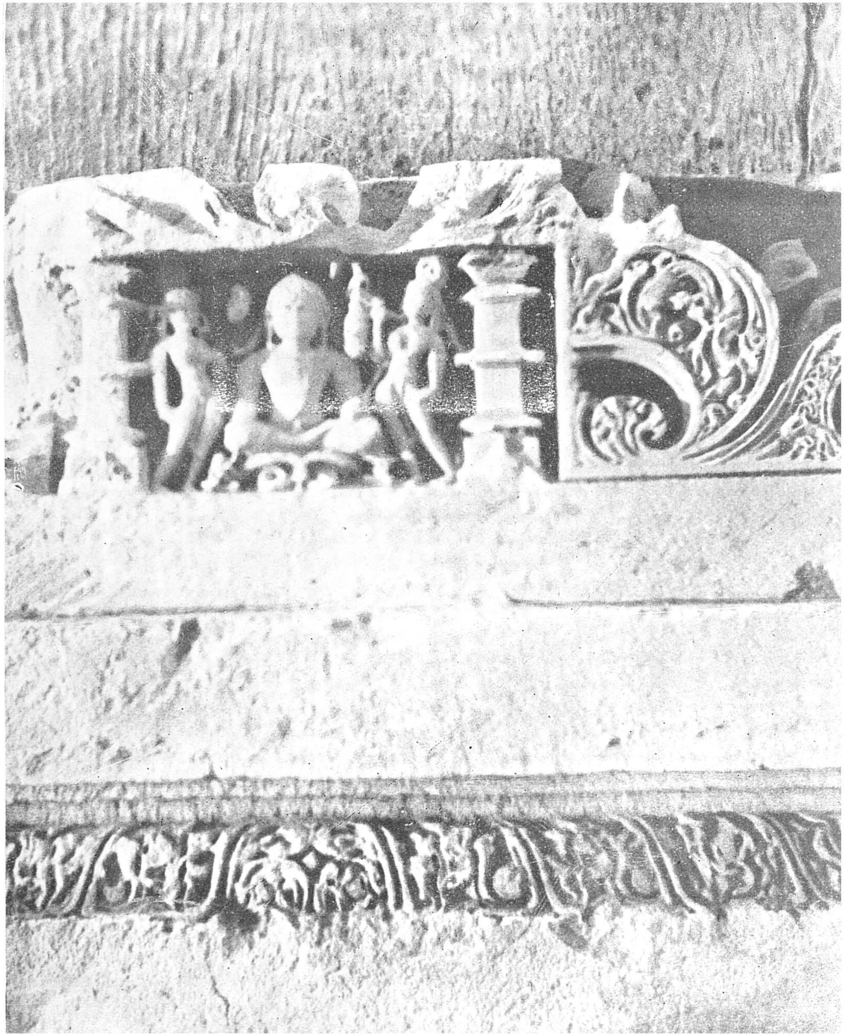
PLATE LVII

Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: closer view, during excavations, of a part of the plinth along the northern face of Temple 4 (Phase II temple)

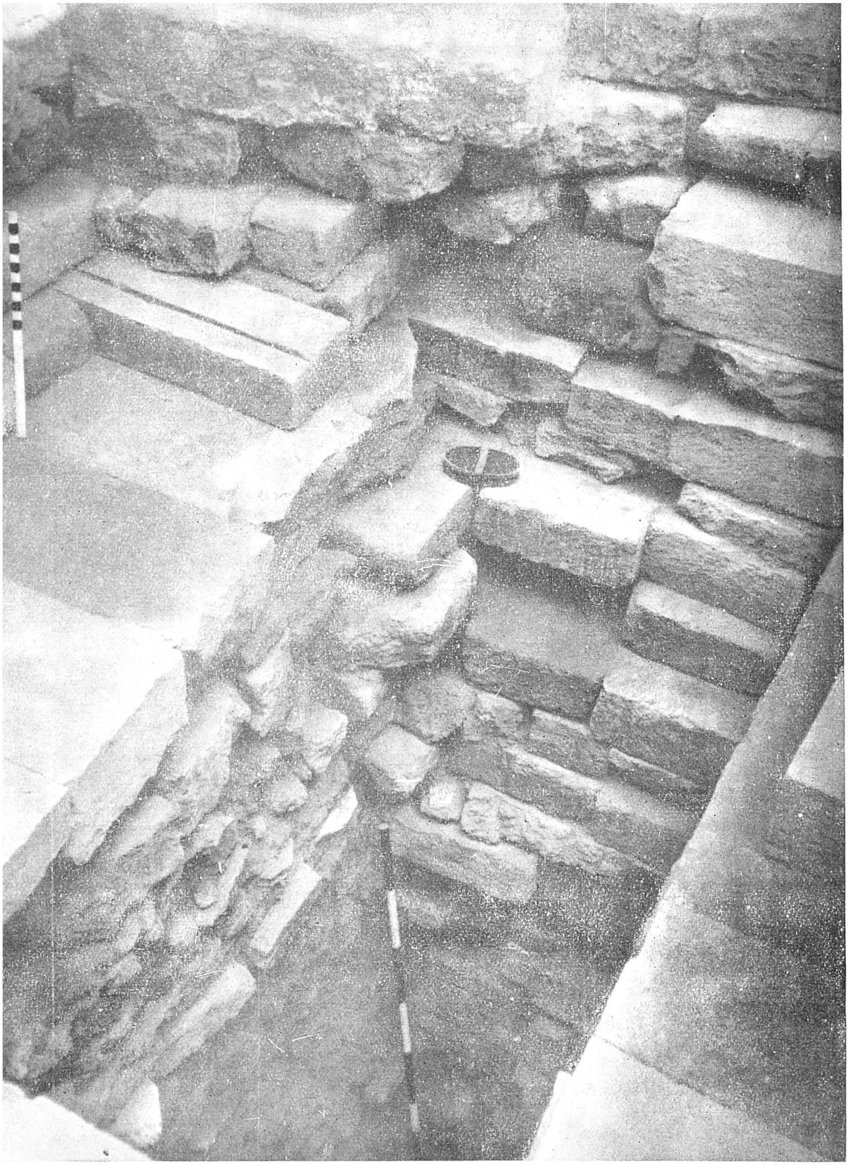


Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: detailed view of sculpture—Śiva Tripurāntaka—in a niche of fretwork on the maṇḍapa plinth of Temple 4 (Phase II temple)

PLATE LIX.



Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: detailed view of a sculpture—Lakuleśwar— in a niche of fretwork on the maṇḍapa plinth of Temple 4 (Phase II temple)

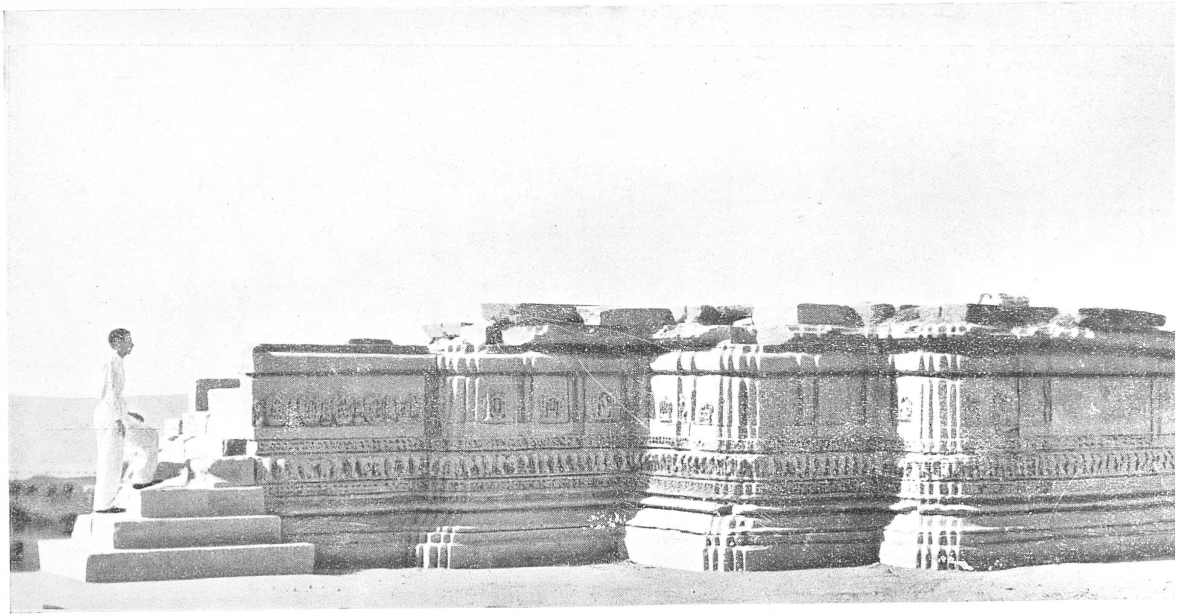


Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: closer view of the pit in the centre of the maṇḍapa showing the temple-foundations the top of which is represented by the brush. The two-foot scale rests on the floor of Temple 3 (Phase I temple) while at the top centre can be seen the remains of an octagonal pillar-base of Temple 4 (Phase II temple)

PLATE LXI

Somanātha, the Cutting across the Maṇḍapa: close-up of the foundations of Kumārpāla's temple; sculptured stones and upturned images are all stacked together

PLATE LXII



Somanātha: the Shrine of Pārvati; a general view, after clearance of the débris, looking south-west

Somanātha: the Shrine of Pārvati; showing a part of the plinth with artistically carved sculptures in the top row

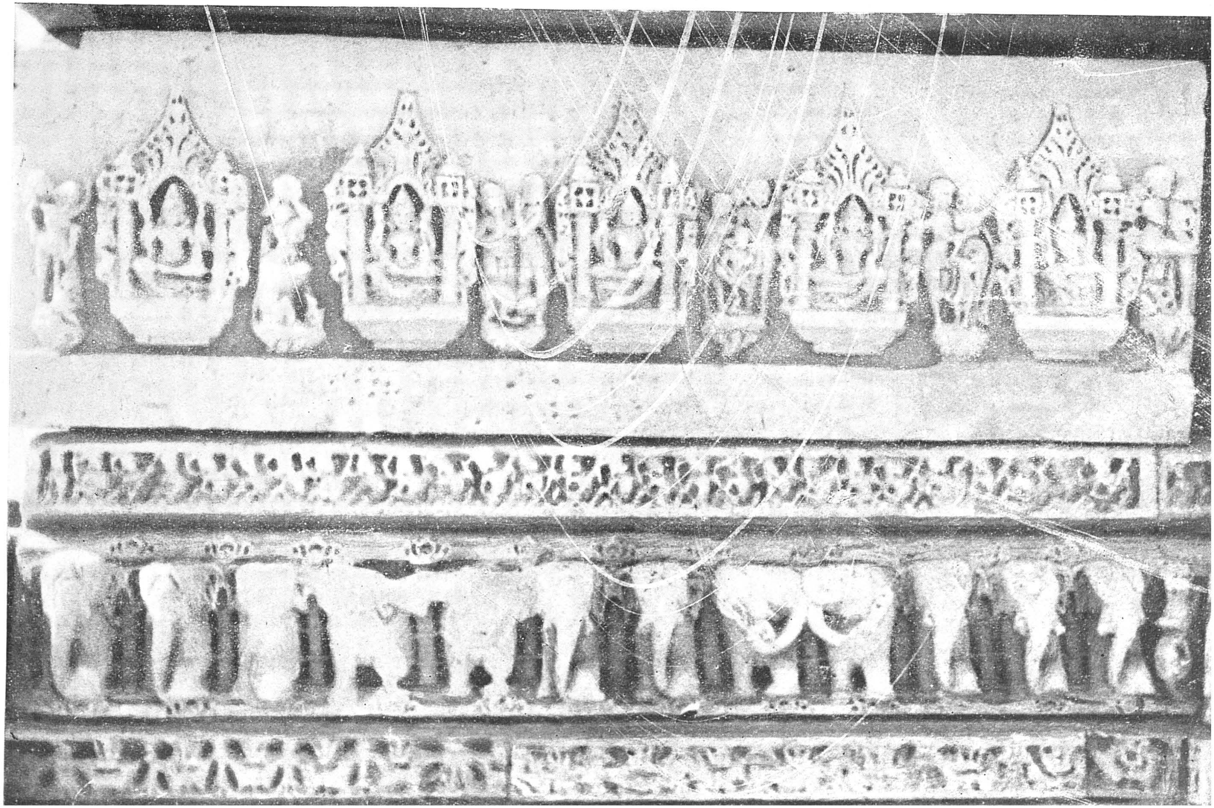
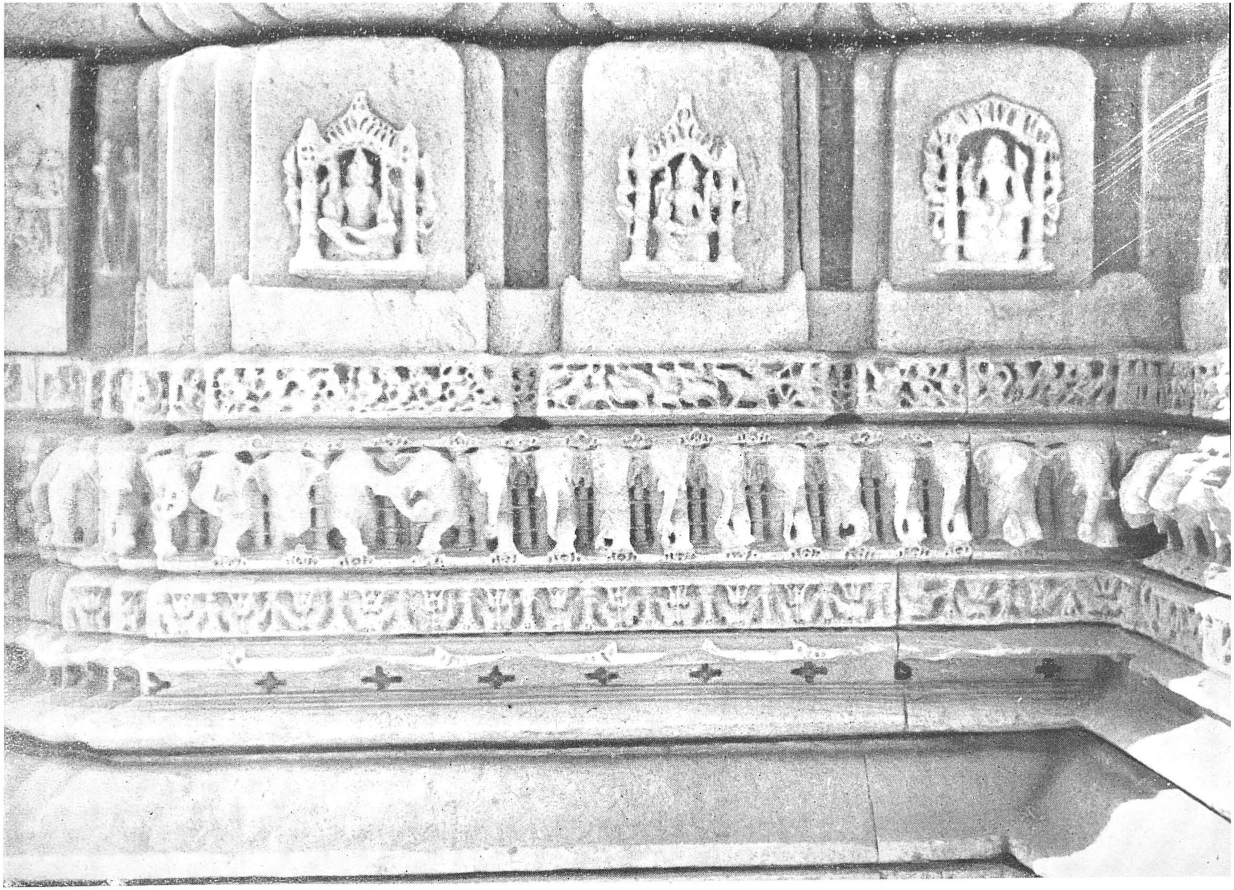


PLATE LXIII

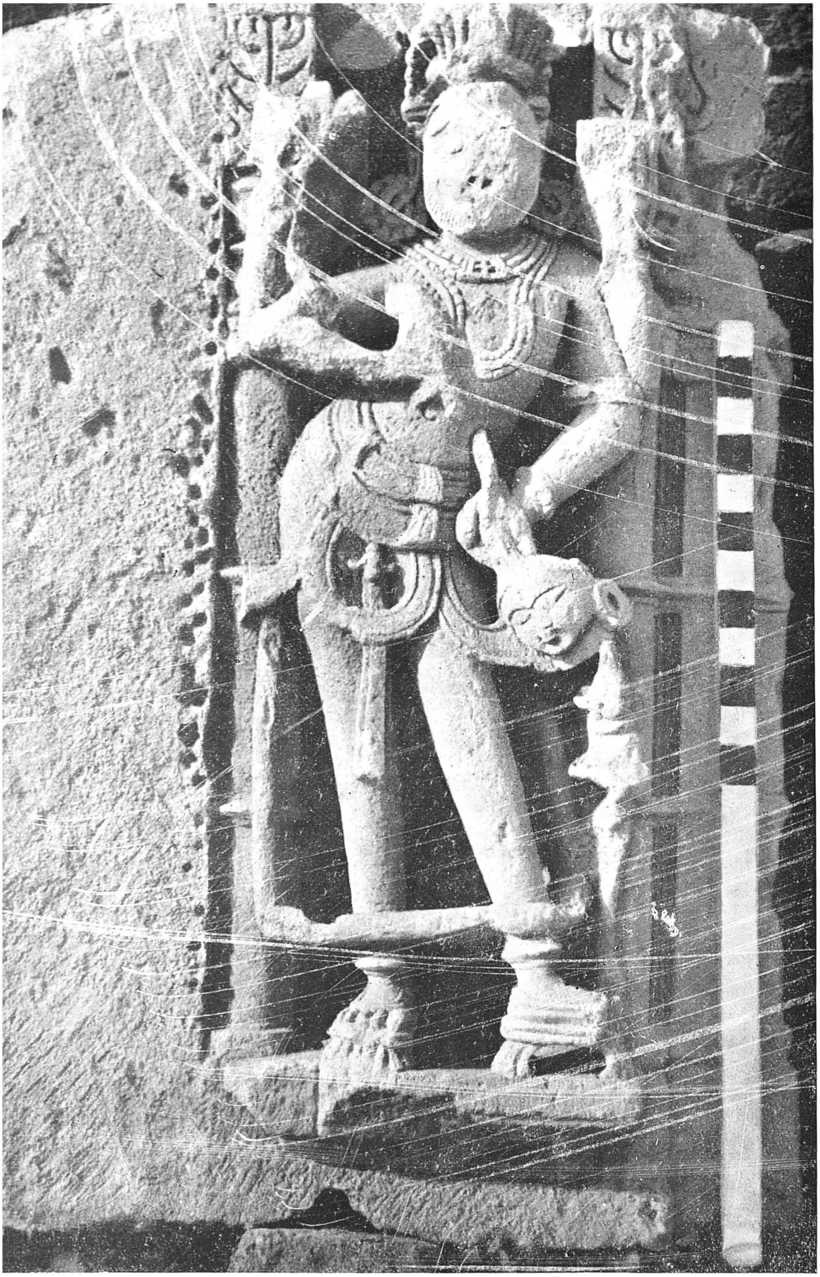


Somanātha: the Shrine of Pārvati; detailed view of a part of the plinth showing string courses of Kīrtī-mukhas, elephants and men, the temple being smaller in size the aśvathara is absent here

PLATE LXIV

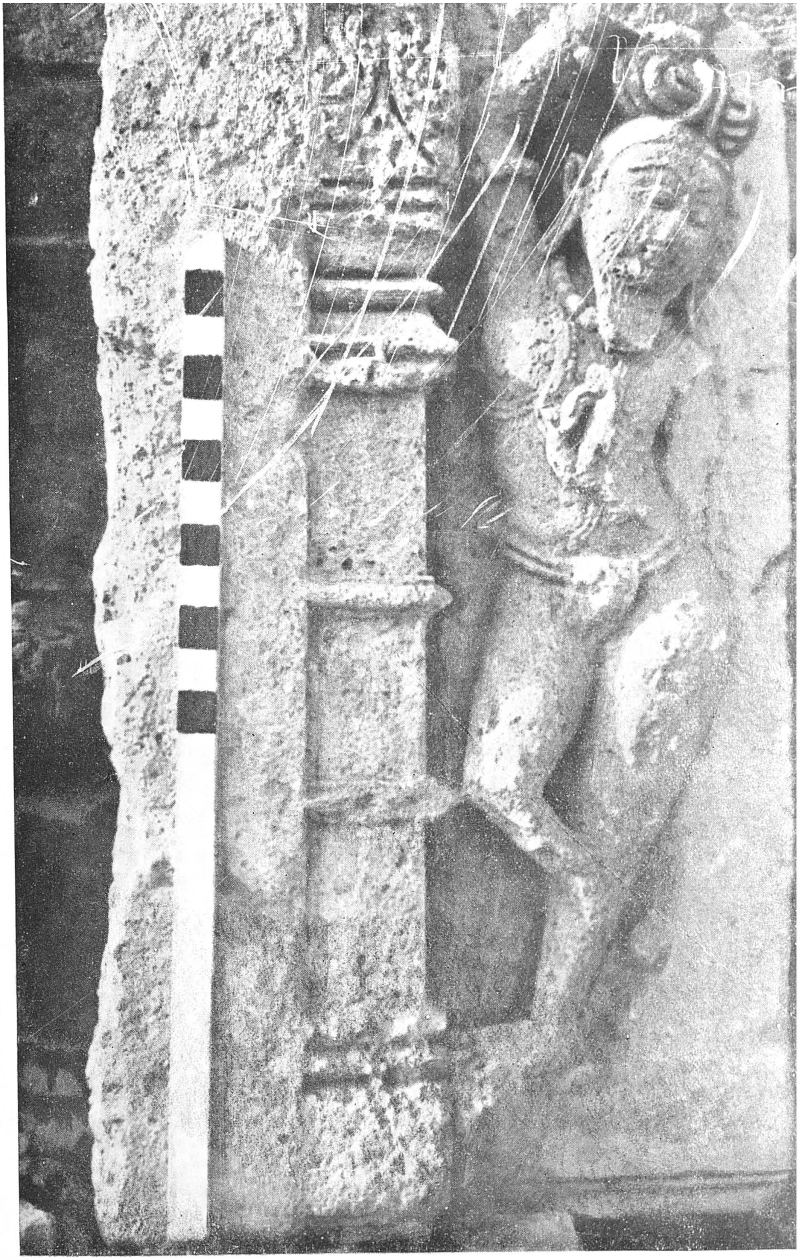
PLATE LXV

Śiva Nataraja—a sculpture lying in the Somanātha temple-compound



Bhairava—a sculpture lying in the Somanātha temple-compound

PLATE LXVII



Yogi—a sculpture lying in the Somanātha temple-compound

available and may have been demolished at the time of the erection of Phase III. The floor-level of the *garbhagṛha* was 13 inches lower than that in the *maṇḍapa,* which, in turn, was 5 inches higher than that in the porch.

Phase III.—The third chamber of the temple, viz., the *megha-dhwani* had completely disappeared save the lowest mouldings of the plinth. The temple, therefore, was left with only two chambers, the *garbhagṛha* and the *gūḍha maṇḍapa,* placed diagonally to each other and having a total length of 98 feet. The entrance steps on the east were only partially available. In this phase, as already stated, the floor-level in the *maṇḍapa* was raised by 9-10 inches whereas there was no raising in the *garbhagṛha.* As a result thereof the floor level inside the *maṇḍapa* was nearly 2 feet higher than that in the *garbhagṛha.* The entrance to the *garbhagṛha* was marked by a *chandraśila* flanked on either side by a conch and a conventionalised tortoise, all in black stone (pl. XXXI). Later on a plain contracted door-frame was inserted with a higher threshold, ascended by two steps resting directly on the *chandraśila* referred to above. This synchronised with the water outlet 'C'.

6. IN CONCLUSION : IDENTIFICATION AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE 'ORIGINAL' TEMPLE

It is always best to proceed from the particular to the general, from the known to the unknown; to try to relate a particular enquiry to some matter of general interest. One of such matters was to find the original site of the temple of Somanātha. At the risk of iteration, I enter into syllogism on the basis of the available evidence.

Regarding the structure of the temple Dr. Nazim writes,[1] "Its foundation was laid on large blocks of stone, and the roof was raised on 56 columns of teak which had been imported from Africa. The temple had a pyramidal roof thirteen storeys high, the top of which was surmounted by fourteen spherical knobs of gold which glittered in the sun and were visible from a long distance. The floor was made of planks of teak, and the interestices were filled with lead." He bases his account on the authorities of Ibn Zafir, Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzi and Ibnu'l-Athir. All these chroniclers are non-contemporary and for their source have drawn mostly from as-Sabi's *Dhail* which contains *in extenso* the letters of victory written by the Sultān to the Caliph. There is no impersonal and unbiassed authority to testify to these descriptions. In the nature of the case, it is quite possible that the Sultān may have occasionally dis-

1 Muhammad Nāzim, *op. cit.,* p. 212.

torted facts in order to illustrate or emphasize some vice or virtue. Divorced from historical precision, such accounts are not wholly reliable. Al-Bīruni, who accompanied the Sultān on this expedition, gives some details about the location of the site and also repeats the *Purānic* legend regarding the origin of the temple.

Taking these descriptions to be literally true, Dr. Nazim had identified a place near Bhidia temple as the original site of Somanātha.[1] This place is situated along the sea nearly a mile to the west of the present temple and thus falls far beyond the fortifications. Whereas it is definitely known that the shrine of Somanātha lay within a strong fortress which the Sultān had to besiege prior to its capture.[2] In view of these incongruities and in the light of the details unfolded by the excavations, the contentions of Dr. Nazim in respect of the site of the 'original' temple seem rather untenable.

It is universally accepted, on the basis of the Bhadrakāli temple inscription, that Kumārpāla rebuilt and also repaired the temple of Bhīm I. Whether the latter built his temple on a fresh site or on the same site where stood the temple demolished by Sultān Maḥmūd was the point of specific enquiry.

As already stated, excavations have revealed the remains of two earlier temples below the temple of Kumārapāla. Of these, the middle one (Phase II) can be definitely ascribed to Bhim and Bhoja on the strength of the inscriptions cited above. Phase I temple was of modest size and had nowhere teak planks used as flooring. The interestices of the *maṇḍapa* floor stones, no doubt, were found to contain molten lead. From the extant remains of the three pillars in the *maṇḍapa*, nor does it seem likely that the roof was supported by 56 columns. At places, it was burnt and also deliberately broken. This ruined temple can be none other than the one demolished by Sultān Maḥmūd. Bhīm and Bhoja who were responsible for the hasty retreat of the Sultān would not build a temple over the plinth of an unknown temple. Furthermore the *brahmaśila* of Phase I continued to be used in Phase II and Phase III which proves the Hindu tradition that the place of *liṅga* installation should remain the same irrespective of the reconstructions. Parenthetically it also explains why the proposed new Somanātha temple is to be constructed on the same site.

* * * * *

Another matter of general enquiry was the date of this temple. No direct archaeological evidence regarding this was obtained from the

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 213-14.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 117, Gardizi, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

excavations and whatever has been recorded below is either circumstantial or inferential.

Hieun Tsāng, the Chinese traveller who visited India between A.D. 630 and 644 does not make any mention of the shrine although during his itineraries he had come as near as Girnār which is only 52 miles from Somanātha. There can be only three explanations: (a) no such temple existed during his times; (b) it must have been an insignificant temple to attract the attention of the traveller and (c) the temple being a Brāhmanical one would obviously not find a place in the writings of Hieun Tsāng who was interested mostly in Buddhist monuments.

Al Bīruni writing in about A.D. 1030 informs us that the fortress of Somanātha had been built about a 100 years before its capture by Sultān Maḥmūd.[1] The statement, no doubt, has only an indirect bearing on the shrine.

Another dating factor is the condition of the water-outlets in the *garbhagṛha* indicating thereby the usage in terms of years in respect of each. The middle one ('B') started functioning in about A.D. 1030 when the temple was reconstructed after its demolition by Sultān Maḥmūd and continued to be used till about the 3rd quarter of the 15th century, since the floor level inside the *garbhagṛha* was not disturbed until that time. Within this period of nearly 450 years the edges of the outlet became rounded by the constant flow of water. The upper one remained in use from the third quarter of the fifteenth century till c. A.D. 1706 when the temple was converted into a mosque, a period of about 220 years. The edges in this case remained fairly sharp. The condition of the lower outlet would postulate a period of nearly 300 years for its life. This brings us to the middle of the 8th century. The 'original' temple, therefore, might have been built somewhere towards the middle of the 8th century with a margin of two or three decades on either side.

In the present stock taking the following points, though apparently minor but nevertheless significant, also deserve mention:—

A stone lying in the core of Kumārpāla's masonry to the right of the main entrance and assumably misplaced, bears on it an inscription which on paleographic grounds is ascribable to the Valabhi period (A.D. 480-767). A superficial corroboration is also provided by the ceramic evidence. In the lower levels (essentially pre-Phase I) of these cuttings was encountered a distinctive class of polished red ware some-

1 Al-Bīruni, *Tahqīq mā li 'l-Hind*, ii. p. 105; Muhammad Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 117, fn. 1.

times also painted in black, generally with parallel bands. The ware is made out of a carefully prepared clay and also seems to be "wet-smoothed" before firing, which was done under oxidizing conditions of the kiln. Possibly the pots were also burnished after firing to obtain the polished surface. An outstanding type in this ware is the bottle-necked sprinkler. The shape, however, is of great interest and belongs to the early centuries of the Christian Era.[1]

Sherds of identical fabric are reported to have been also recovered from Vallā, the ancient Valabhīpur, and Jasdan—sites associated with the Valabhi period. Although the true horizon of this ware both chronologically and straitigraphically has not been fixed at either of these sites, its occurrence on both, one of which was the capital of the Valabhi rulers, deserves some consideration.

A significant piece of evidence is presented by the presence in the foundation-filling of the 'original' temple (Phase I) of many sculptured stones which indicate the existence in the neighbourhood of a still earlier temple, the débris of which was utilised for purposes of filling. On the southern side, both in the Cutting across the *Garbhagṛha* and that across the *Maṇḍapa* were discovered Kanjur stone retaining walls which stratigraphically are earlier than Phase I of the temple. In the latter Cutting again, we have already noticed that stage I of the sea-wall was, in origin, earlier than Phase I of the temple and also was contemporary with Kanjur stone retaining walls.

These facts point to the prior existence in the neighbourhood of some structure which either was demolished or had itself fallen into ruins at the time of the building of Phase I temple. In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is difficult to comment upon the precise nature and the date of this structure. According to the *Purānic* legend Prabhāsa was famous for sun worship[2] and it may be quite likely that the structure referred to above may have been a Sūrya temple. The inference, no doubt, does not pretend to be conclusive and the matter is still open to future research on the subject.

Camp: Hastinapur. B. K. Thapar

1 During the recent excavations at Hastinapur similar vases have been recovered from strata ascribable to c. 1st-2nd century A.D. although the evidence at Kauśāmbi (1951 excavations) points to their survival in the Gupta period as well.

2 Formerly the Sun God shone over Prabhāsa so brightly that his wife Chhāyā could not come near him. On her request, therefore, he divided his light into 16 parts and distributed 12-16ths of it in the shape of Sūrya temples.

PART IV

MUSLIM CHRONICLERS ON SOMANATHA INSCRIPTIONS

MUSLIM CHRONICLERS ON SOMANĀTHA

Abi Raihan-Al-Bīrūni,[1] who accompanied Sultān Maḥmūd to India and compiled his work on Indian culture, philosophy, astronomy, geography, etc., about A.D. 1031, quotes the legend of Soma's escape from Daksha's curse. According to him Somanātha was set up on the sea coast in such a way that the sea water, when high, would cover it at times. The natural phenomenon of ebb and flow may have been the origin of the legend that Soma, the Moon-God, was devotedly occupied in bathing and serving the *Liṅga*. Some Muslim writers, in view of the similarity of Somanātha to Manāt, thought that it was the same idol of Manāt as was worshipped by the Arabs at Mecca before Islām, and transported to India by its worshippers, and hence their erroneous supposition that the idol had a human figure like the Manāt of Mecca.[2] The famous mystic poet, Shaikh Farīdu'd-Din Āttar calls it by the name of Lāt, another important deity worshipped by the Arabs at Mecca;[3] but this view is equally wrong. The shrine, however, rose to great prominence chiefly on account of the favourable geographical situation of the town of Somanātha for its being an important port of call for ships between Africa and China. Possibly the sailors carried the fame of the idol far and wide. But from times immemorial it was a centre of tremendous living faith, and by the 10th century had come to occupy a pre-eminent position among the shrines of India.[4]

According to the *Wafāyatu'l-Ayān* of the famous chronicler Ibn Khallikāh, Sultān Maḥmūd was told that each of the thirty rings round the idol represented a period of 1000 years of its worship. The age of the idol on this computation would be 30,000 years. This belief, a gross exaggeration, certainly points to its antiquity. Firishta, while refusing to accept the identification of Somanātha with the Manāt of Mecca, quotes the local Brāhminical tradition which says that the former "stood near the harbour of Diu since the time of Krishṇa who disappeared at that spot 4000 years ago."[5] But Al-Birūni observes that the

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1 *Tahqiq mā li 'l-Hind* by Al-Bīruni, English translation by Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 102-3.

2 *Zainul Akhbar* of Abu Said' Abdul-Hai Gardizi, p. 86; *Farrukhi's Diwan,* f. 19(b); *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. X for 1881, p. 22.

3 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. VII, p. 883.

4 *Ibid; Tahqiq mā li 'l-Hind* by Al-Bīruni (English translation by Sachau), vol. II, p. 104; Rauzatu's Safa of Mir Khwand, Persian text (Nawal Kishor edition) Vol. IV, p. 41.

5 *Tarikh-i-Firishta,* Persian text (Nawal Kishor edition), p. 32.

fortress wherein the idol of Somanātha and its treasures were lodged was not ancient, but was only 100 years old at his time.[1] The fortress then could be traced to the Chālukyas of Saurāshṭra.

These reports can now be checked by the excavations: (1) The red-stone Third Temple was the only temple, the ruins of the south wall of which are still lying embedded and is undoubtedly the one destroyed by Maḥmūd. (2) The *brahmaśilā* of the temple on which the original *Liṅga* was placed is surrounded by the foundation stone walls; the aperture A of the original temple is just a normal one, and there was no possibility of the sea coming to wash the *Liṅga* unless there were specific devices by which the tidal waters were brought into the *Jaladhārī*. (3) The examination of the *garbhagṛha* and the débris of the south wall, the steps on the east and the plinth stones of the temple in the south indicate, beyond doubt, that it was a temple of stone. (4) The wear of the aperture points to the use of this temple for nearly three hundred years; the temple which Maḥmūd destroyed existed for much longer than a hundred years.

The construction of the Third Temple then must be placed about A.D. 800 during the time of the conquest of Saurāshṭra by the Pratihāra emperor Nāgbhaṭa II of Kanauj.

The temple noticed by Al-Bīrūni was founded on large blocks of stone on the sea-shore in such a way that its walls were washed by the waves and the idol remained under water at appointed hours. It was a large edifice, the roof of which was carried on 56 well-ornamented columns of teakwood brought from Africa.[2] Out of these, six columns, highly studded with emeralds, rubies and other precious stones, were set up by the most prominent *rājās* of India, who probably vied with one another in their rich offerings to the temple.[3] M. Nazim, on the authority of Ibn'Zafir and Sib-t Ibnu'l Jauzi, speaks of the temple having "a pyramidal roof, thirteen storeys high, the top of which was surmounted by fourteen spherical knobs of gold which glittered in the sun and were visible from a long distance. The floor was made of planks of teak wood, and the interstices were filled with lead.[4]

The excavations of *garbhagṛha* right down to the sands clearly show that there is no chamber underneath the idol chamber. It is just a narrow *garbhagṛha*. There may have been a cellar under the *sabhā*

1 *Tahqiq mā li 'l-Hind* of Al-Bīruni (English translation by Sachau), Vol. 11, p. 105.

2 *Kamilu't Tawarikh* of Ibnu'l Athir, Vol. IX, p. 24. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Persian text, p. 33.

3 *Rauzat's Safa*, Persian text Vol. IV, p. 42.

4 *The Life and Times of Mahmud of Ghazna*, p. 212.

maṇḍapa. The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of this Third Temple shows distinct sign of stone pillars.

According to Muslim writers, the sanctuary wherein the idol stood was illuminated by jewelled chandeliers, and valuable draped curtains were hung over the doorway.[1] The passage leading to it had standing posts all along for those who allowed the worshippers to enter the sanctum. In front of the sanctum there was suspended a heavy chain of gold, 200 *manns* in weight,[2] with gold bells[3] to announce the appointed hours of worship. Adjoining this chamber was a repository wherein precious stones and innumerable costly images of gold and silver were stored, but Ibnu'l Athir locates this store-room "under the idol chamber."[4] These statements are clearly untrue. The shrine had 10,000 villages for its maintenance, had 1,000 Brāhmins[5] to perform the rituals specially at the time of eclipses, 300 musicians and dancing girls to sing and dance at the temple gates, 300 barbers to shave the pilgrims and a large staff of couriers to bring daily fresh flowers from Kashmir to garland the idol and fresh Ganges water to wash it with.

Several Muslim chronicles expressed the view that Somanātha had a human form. Most European writers owe their information to them and adopt the same view. They authoritatively quote the fictitious story of the Brāhmins' sumptuous offer of ransom to Maḥmūd to spare the idol and of his iconoclastic zeal in refusing the same and breaking, with his mace, first the nose and then the belly of the idol which yielded precious stones worth many times the amount of the Brāhmins' offer of ransom. None of the contemporary and early non-contemporary writers, such as Al-Birūni, Farrūkhi, Gārdizi Ibnu'l-Jauzi, Ibnu'l-Athir says that it had a human figure or that it was suspended in the air without being attached to anything.[6] Their complete silence on the

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1 *Kamilu't Tawarikh*, Vol. IX, p. 241; *Tahqiq mā li 'l-Hind* of Al-Bīruni (Sachau's English translation) p. 103.

2 According to H. C. Raverty one Mann was equal to about 2 ratls (vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXI, Part 1, for 1892, p. 192) and Steingass calls a *ratl* equal 1/2 maund (Persian-English Dictionary, pp. 579 and 1316).

3 *Rauzatu's Safa*, Persian text, Vol. IV, p. 41; Firishta describes the chain as hung in a corner of the building. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Persian text.

4 *Kamilu't Tawarikh*, Vol. IX, p. 241.

5 The *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Persian text, Nawal Kishor edition, p. 33) says that "2000 villages were endowed to the temple" "2000" being probably a misprint for "10000". According to it, the temple establishment consisted of 2000 Brahmins to perform the rituals, 500 singing and dancing girls and 300 musicians to sing and dance and 300 barbers to shave the devotees. *Rauzatu's Safa* of Mir Khwand (Persian text, Vol. IV, p. 41) contains the same account except that it mentions the endowment of 10,000 villages as given by Ibnu'l Ahir who later curtails the number of singers and dancers to 350.

6 See Watson's article on Shaikh Din's ballad published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, for 1879, p. 160.

Brāhmins' offer of a bribe and on Maḥmūd's breaking the nose and belly of the idol out of his iconoclastic zeal and recovering from inside a vast hoard of precious stones is noteworthy.

Briefly speaking, a careful study of their works reveals that: (1) the idol was the *Liṅga* of Śiva, seven cubits in height, of which two were buried in the basement, and about three cubits in girth; (2) it was of solid stone, not hollow so as to contain precious stones in it; (3) it was set with precious stones; (4) its rich covering was embroidered with figures of animals; (5) a crown studded with jewels hung over it from the ceiling; (6) it had thirty rings round it each of which was then (i.e. in A.D. 1026) related by the Brāhmins to have represented a period of 1000 years for which it had been worshipped; and (7) there were several minor images of gold and silver placed under its elevated pedestal to signify their attendance on it. Al-Birūni (writing in A.D. 1031) speaks of various *Liṅgas* in the temples in the south-west of Sind and Cutch.

All these opinions are now laid at rest.

(1) The original *brahmaśilā* (fig. 1) was just normal, only a little broken at the corner.

(2) The whole construction being according to the ancient science of temple architecture, there would not be a hollow *Liṅga* placed on this *śilā*.

(3) It could not have been set with precious stones nor could it have a rich covering, for water coud drip on the *Liṅga* itself.

(4) What was hung from the ceiling must have been a golden *Jaladhārī* for dropping water on Śiva and could not be a crown.

(5) Looking to the size of the *garbhagṛha*, the *Liṅga*, the *jaladhārī* round the *Liṅga* could not possibly have 30 rings.

According to later writers, Maḥmūd took delight in plunder and bloodshed as a brigand chief and the chief motive of his expedition to Somanātha was his insatiable lust for gold, while others say that Rājā Kunwar Pal of Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇa, who was a Wagher by caste, slew a Musalman daily in front of the idol of Somanātha and made a *tilak* or mark on his forehead with the blood and that a saint, named Hajji Mahmud (better known as Mangalauri Shah) invited Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazni to avenge the wrong at the instance of the Prophet who had ap-

peared to the saint in a dream.[1] This is not borne out by known historical facts. Ibnūl Athir, Mir Khwand[2] and others mention that the Sultān had resolved upon making the expedition because he wanted to dispel the false belief of the Hindus that the invader could have destroyed no idols in India had they not incurred the displeasure of the great idol of Somanātha. These are pure legends.

Thus it appears that the original temple and fort of Somanātha were burnt to the ground in A.D. 1026. Some modern historians, in view of the new or conflicting testimony available, find it difficult to say with propriety where they actually stood 924 years ago. It was suggested by some that the temple probably represented the remains of temples of at least two different periods.

Cousens says that Maḥmūd appointed Mitha Khan as his governor at Somanātha and that it was he who completed the destruction of the temple and was eventually driven out by Bhīma Deva I of Aṇahilavāda Pāṭaṇa, who rebuilt the temple "possibly upon the site of the former," and there can surely be little doubt that the portions of an older basement, that we see in the heart of the present old building, is part of his temple.[3] But the appointment of Mitha Khan as the governor or deputy of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazni at Somanātha is a mythical story versified by Shaikh Din in December 1801 and translated into English by Watson for the *Indian Antiquary.*[4] A careful study of Shaikh Din's ballad reveals several absurd anachronisms and it appears that the bard has hopelessly confused the name of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazni with that of a later Muslim ruler of Kāthiawār, perhaps Sultān Mahmud Begda (A.D. 1459-1511).

That the above-mentioned identifications of the site of the original temple of Somanātha are incorrect is evident from the accounts of Abū Raihan Al-Bīrūni who placed it at a distance of "a little less than three miles west of the mouth of the river Sarsuti (Sarasvati)."[5] M. Nazim tried to identify the site of the temple with one lying at a distance of about 200 yards to the west of the temple of Bhidia and it will be interesting to quote him below:—

"I searched for the site of the original temple during my visit to Somanātha Pāṭan and about 200 yards to the west of the temple of Bhidia,

1 *Indian Antiquary.* Vol. VIII (for 1879) pp. 153-62.

2 *Kamilu't-Tawarikh.* Vol. IX, p. 241; and *Rauzatu's Safa.* Vol. IV, p. 41.

3 *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency,* p. 182. *Somnāth and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiawad,* p. 22.

4 *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. VIII (for 1879), pp. 153-61.

5 *Tahqiq mā li 'l-Hind* of Al-Bīruni (English translation by Sachau), Vol. II, p. 105.

about three miles from the mouth of the river Sarasvati, I found the remains of large blocks of stones joined together with a whitish cement, partly in sand and partly washed over by the sea at high tide. I believe that this was the place where stood the temple which Sultān Maḥmūd captured and burnt. Midway between this site and the temple of Bhidia, a *liṅga* has been placed in the sea in ancient times, probably to commemorate the original site.

"The whole sea-coast around this site is littered with ruins. Every now and then the sea washes away the sand and exposes some of them to view. When I was at Somanāth, the ruins of what looked like a cell were uncovered closely to Verāwal. I am sure that if this site were excavated, some additional details regarding the size and plan of the temple might be brought to light."[1]

All these speculations are at an end. Recent excavations prove beyond doubt that the temple has stood on the same spot for over 1,500 years.

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1. M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-14.

INSCRIPTIONS

STONE-INSCRIPTION IN THE TEMPLE OF BHADRAKĀLI AT PRABHĀSA PĀṬAṆA OF THE TIME OF KING KUMĀRAPĀLA, dated VALABHĪ SAMVAT 850

Somanātha Paṭana is a small town under Jūnāgadh on the South-West coast of Kāthiawād. There is a temple dedicated to the Goddess Bhadrakāli in this town in which this stone is to be found to the right of the entrance door.

It mentions the building and repairing of several Temples of Śiva and Ambikā as well as the digging of Vao and grants of land to learned Brāhmaṇas by King Kumārapāla through the influence of his religious preceptor, Bhāva Bṛhaspati.

1. Bow to Śiva. May Śaṅkara, the beloved of Bhavāni, protect you, who, when thus addressed by his consort with anger "Because I allow the presence of Gaṅgā in your *Jaṭā*, you O cheat! cause her to play on your ears and by degrees you have brought her into your lap," said, "Oh! best of women! this, the fame of Guru Gaṇḍa, is only as an ornament of my eyebrows".

2. May Vighnarāja (i.e. Gaṇapati) be victorious, I bow to you; may you Sarasvatī favour me with the power of fresh diction that my tongue may flow on—as long as I work at the eulogy of the virtues of the good Gaṇḍa.

3. May the moon be victorious, who has been purified by Śaṅkara, the consumer of the body of Kāmadeva; and who, at the command of that God who bears her (the moon) on his crest, having herself propagated the creed, gave it to the intelligent followers of the Pāśupata doctrine who had disappeared in the *Satya-yuga* by the curse of Pārvatī.

4. When some part of the *Kaliyuga* had elapsed, Śaṅkara seeing the temple in a dilapidated state, ordered Nandīśvara to repair it.

5. The omniscient Nandīśvara took birth by the order of Śiva in the house of the best of Brāhmaṇas in the city of Vārāṇasī in the beautiful country of Kānyakubja, where the gods reside and which is famous for its being the abode of *Dharma* (religion) and *Moksha* (final emancipation) and observed the vow of Paśupati.

6. He the treasure of penances, set out to make pilgrimages, to initiate kings and to protect the places (of Paśupati).

7. Bhāva Bṛhaspati, who was very learned, who was worshipped by the whole world, who had attained the title of being the *Upamāna* (model, standard) of those who make various pilgrimages, whose body was like Nakuliśa, who was worshipped by ascetics, who was like Kāmadeva, and who was, as it were, all the *Śāstras* put together elucidating his own *Āgama,*—he who was such, went to Dhārāpuri.

8. The intellect of Bhāva Bṛihaspati appears most brilliant in all the three worlds by the austerities he performed in the countries of Mālvā and Kānyakubja, and at Ujjain by his making the Paramārs his disciples and well preserving the *Maṭhas* and by his acquiring the brotherly regard of Jayasiṁhadevarāja much pleased with him.

9. The day on which Bhāva Bṛihaspati, the holy-minded, being reminded by Śambhu of the reason of his taking birth in this world, thought of repairing the temple, Siddharāja gave him the greatest honour as a preceptor with folded hands and performed his service with great devotion.

10. When that king went to heaven, Kumārapālarāja, splendid on account of his peculiar valour, ascended the throne,—he who was of unimaginable prowess, who was the lord of Ballāladeśa and Dhārānagarī, and who was a lion, prowling on the heads of elephant-like kings of the wealthy city of Jangalā.

11. When the fortunate Kumārapālarāja, who was like a *Kalpa-tree* in the three worlds, was thus contantly reigning on the beautiful and successful throne, Gaṇḍa Bhāva Bṛihaspatī, seeing the temple of Śiva in a ruined state asked the king to repair the temple of the god.

12. That Kumārapāla made the fortunate Bhāva Bṛihaspati—who caused to be built the great temple by the order of Śaṅkara, who was respected by the four *Varṇas* (castes), who was steady-minded and who was born in the Gārgeya family—famous on the face of the earth as Gaṇḍeśvara, lord of all, on account of his being of the best *Gotramaṇḍala*.

13. He (Kumārapāla) adorned him with ornaments with his own hands, put a necklace of pearls on his neck, besmeared his two feet with sandal-paste, bowed his head before him with reverence, gave him his own ring, setting aside his greatness, and made a gift of the place where the good old creed was followed and where food was daily distributed.

14. The king was much delighted to see the temple of Śaṅkara made like the Mount Kailāsa and said thus to the most intelligent blessed

Gaṇda: "I now bestow this appellation of Gaṇḍa on you with your sons and grandsons till the moon, the stars and the sun endure."

15. The temple of Gaṇḍa, the lord of all and the treasure of virtues, was caused to be made of gold by Somarāja, of silver by Kṛishṇa equal in valour to Rāvaṇa, and of large fine stones with numbers of gems set in them by Śri Bhīmadeva; the same being dilapidated by time, was repaired and called Meru by the best and most glorious of kings.

16. Afterwards the king of Gujarātadeśa, who was greatly satisfied, gave a village by name Brahmapurī, with its trees and water and all, in the presence of the whole assembly, with an order inscribed on three copper-plates, to be enjoyed without any disturbance by the sons, grandsons, and descendants of his family.

17. Because this Gaṇḍa, who is like Bṛihaspati, rebuilt the temple by the support (management) of Soma, (it is clear) there has not been ever such a man, nor will there be in future.

18. This building, which was destroyed by the bad ministers of kings, who were *Gaṇḍa* (mad) with evil genius, and were blind with avarice, is now repaired by Guru Gaṇḍa, in mere sport, as if to vie with the great Boar (i.e., Vishṇu in the incarnation of *Varāha*) who uplifted the earth on its tusks.

19. By him the powerful, what opponents were left unconquered in presence of the king? Whose faces were left unsullied? Whose pride was not humbled? Whose position was not forcibly shaken by planting his foot on their heads and what opponents were not turned beggars?

20. If this small pot of the Universe had not been well pressed on the outside by his good merits, it would have surely burst from within through his great glory contained in it.

21. Verily, Indra desiring to see his beauty assumes one thousand eyes; Brahmā is obliged to bear four mouths being intent upon praising his immeasurable virtues; the earth being shaken by the weight of his greatness is kept in position by mountains and, in sooth, the three worlds seem to be created to hold his fame which the earth could not contain.

22. He, desirous of acquiring glory, renovated the four outward and four inward duties of the four *Varṇas* and allotted one to each.

23. For the proper repair of the temple, having fixed a limit, he worshipped five hundred and five good men.

24. He extended the town by building a strong fortress on the north and the south of the god (temple).

25. He placed gold-pinnacles (*lit.* jars) on the (temple of) Gaürī, Bhimeśvara, Kapardi (Śiva), Siddheśvara and other divinities.

26. He made a court-room for the kings to assemble. For getting pure water for kitchen, and bath he made a *Vāpī* of the Sarasvati.

27. He made a room in front of the (temple of) Śaṅkara supported on beautiful strong pillars and a seat of Śiva in the form of a frog having a silver water-course.

28. He repaired the temple of God Pāpamochana, erected three statues of men[1] (?) there, and caused to be built a flight of steps in the river.

29. He built very large houses for Brāhmaṇas and helped in the worship of Vishṇu.

30. In the new town, on the way to Somanātha, he made two *Vāpīs* and there established another Chaṇḍikā.

31. This *Vāpī,* which was caused to be made by Gaṇḍa, is pure, is of large dimensions, has sweet water and is named *Amṛita.* This *Vāpī,* whose water is being drunk by hundreds of brass-buckets which make pleasant rippling sound, seems to laugh at the ocean, though its water was drunk by the sage Agastya born from a *Kumbha* (an earthen water jar).

32. He, desirous as he was of acquiring religious merit, renewed the Chaḍikā near the God Śiva, who is adorned by the moon.

33. What person can rival this treasure of virtues, who, on (the days of) the solar and lunar eclipses, worshipped, at every step, learned and meritorious Brāhmaṇas who came to him, after giving them all (kinds of) gifts, and who pleased also the earth by making regular gifts, well-known on the surface of the earth, on the five holidays.

34. He is devoted to the enemy of Kāmadeva (Śaṅkara), takes delight in the knowledge of Brahma, has faith in the Śrutis, is very fond of charity, is of a forbearing nature, conducts (himself) properly and prays to Śaṅkara for eternal bliss.

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1 Can it be, equal in height to three men?

35. His wife, well-known in this world by the name of Mahādevī, had her face beautiful like the moon, was of a well-known family, was like Pārvatī to Śaṅkara the enemy of the demon Tripura, and glorious as Lakshmī to Vishṇu and was born of Sodhal, equalling in fame, speech and beauty the Ganges,[1] Sarasvati and Yamunā respectively.

36. Her form was like the flower of *Chaṁpā;* her arms were like a chariot of Love; her eyes were like a row of *Śirisha flowers;*......her smile was like the flower of *Mogrā* and her temples were like the full-blown flowers of *Lodhra;* so (it appeared that) her body was made by the artist Kāmadeva, with beauties of all seasons.

37-38. He, who was like Daśaratha......had for his sons Siddhas (adepts) like his (Daśaratha's) four sons; the first of whom was called Aparāditya; next (to him) was Ratnāditya......the third was called Someśvara who was well-versed in all things; and the fourth was Bhāskara. They were as true and fraternally devoted to one another as Rāma, etc..........the hands of (Vishṇu) Śrī Murāri dipped in juice. ......

39-40. Fortunate indeed is the mother and also the father who is like a pinnacle of the world; he, till the end of his life and......Lakshmī (wealth), which is like drops of water rolling on leaves, and which abounds in horses, chariots, and elephants......of the flash of lightning ......he, who was meritorious, acquired great fame.

41-42. Now, he was like king Śibi or the sage Dadhīchi in the quality of goodness and was like Rāvaṇa in issuing strict orders......was like king Yudhishṭhira......what more can we say? He was like Bṛihaspati. All of them......the sister's son of Kumārapāla, very strong.[2]

43-45. Bhoja, son of Premalladevi......as Gaṇḍarāja officiated at the worship of Somanātha at the time of the eclipse of the moon, he was highly pleased......respectively.

46-47. Gaṇḍa, ... near Pāpamochana on the bank of the river Hiraṇyā gave ...... him, who was in advance of all the great lords, the kings.

48-50. He who gave a village by a deed of gift with order ...... to be enjoyed by sons, grandsons, and women born in the family as long as the sun and the moon (endure) ...... The *Śīghrakavi* composed this eulogy of Gaṇḍa's qualifications.

51. .... Rudrasūri, son of Lakshmīdhara wrote this .... Vallabhī Saṁvat 850, Ashā (ḍha) ....

1 i.e. Her fame was bright like the Ganges, etc.

2 Mahābala may be the name of the sister's son of king Kumārapāla.

STONE INSCRIPTION AT VERĀVAL UNDER BHĪMA DEVA II OF JŪNĀGADH

(V.S. 1273—A.D. 1216)

1. May Someśvara bless you, who is like a *Kalpa* tree in the *Kalīyuga,* who is like the moon to the ocean of the excess of happiness consisting of supreme bliss, who is the sole cause of immortality; by whose volition the three worlds awake and sleep and who is the *rasāyana* (elixir) to (preserve) the body of the moon.

2. May the rays of the nails of the reddish fingers, effulgent with high lustre and beauty, of the feet of Viśveśvara, appearing as if tossing about the beauty of a line of moons rising to destroy the deep darkness of the miseries of the world, destroy the whole of your delusion of this world.

3. O, mother Sarasvatī! adorn this face of mine, which is beautiful like a full-blown lotus, as long as I describe the Upanishad of the life of Gaṇḍa, the lord of the universe, which destroys all sins.

4-5. The Trident-holder (*Pinākapāṇi*=Śaṅkara) seeing that religion was disappearing under bad kings in this *Kaliyuga,* thought of reincarnating a part of himself as was arranged with the desire of repairing his abode, and took birth for the welfare of the world in the house of the best of Brāhmaṇas in the beautiful country of Kānyakubja, who had destroyed his sins by offering oblations to the three sacred fires, and whose sorrows were ended by the reflection of the Vedic texts or by the Vedānta.

6-7. This Brāhmaṇa, who was descended from Śrī Viśvanātha, who was a treasure of *Tapas* (austerities), who, when a child, had mastered the fourteen *Vidyas* without learning, by virtue of the residue of former births, and who was a disciple of the devotees in the *Maṭha* (Monastery) of the god Mahākāladeva, went to Avantī to practise religious austerities.

8. This Brāhmaṇa, passed many days or rather years in meditating hard, with his eyes closed a little, on his indentity with the supreme imperishable principle, which is the cause of the *Guṇas* in the form of the world, and which is eternal bliss.

9. Then from the hostile king-like milky ocean which was agitated when being churned by mount Mandarāchala .... became second Chaṇḍa. Which of the numerous lotus-like faces of the wives of kings in his army did not bear the beauty of full-blown lotuses when he was shining day and night?

10. Śaṅkara, the bearer of the crescent moon on His head, the ornament of Avantī, thinking of the havoc caused by his false doctrines, gave correct instructions to king Kumārapāla, with the desire of protecting his own city and to the ruler of the *Maṭha*.

11-12-13. A daughter by name Pratāpadevī was born in the house of this preceptor of the gods, who was ever in search of her beloved who * * * in the *(sva)yaṁvara* was like the heavens without the moon, the lotus without the sun, Ratī deserted by Kāmadeva, Kamalā (Lakshmi), the * * * preserved by the clouds. She, the daughter of Guru Gaṇḍa, the abode of all beauties and politeness * * * was like Sītā, who came forth from the ground of sacrifice, whom, of a worthy family and the abode of all blessings centred in one place, the best of poets imagine variously to be a lotus-stalk in the lake of gracefulness, the wife of Śrṭpati (Vishnu?) infant Sarasvati (?) and * * * of Samararipu (Śaṅkara).

14. The four sons of the preceptor of the Surapati were like oceans, the ornament of the earth and the abode of all wealth and fame. The eldest of them was Aparāditya and from him was Dharmāditya, a great misfortune to the desires of his foes.

15. His (son) was called Someśvaradeva, who well followed the path of religion and was untouched by sins. His younger brother was called Bhāskara, whose beauty humbled the pride of Kāmadeva.

16. The Lords of Śrī Kāśī, the King of Mālavadeśa, Śrī Siddharāja and other kings worshipped him with faith, believing him to be the champion of religion on earth. Śrī Bhāva Bṛihaspati, who was on this altar-like earth as bright and beautiful as fire, became with his four Veda-like sons a fit object of venerations, as Brahmā.

17. Bhāva Bṛihaspati established the gods (Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra) having three qualities or properties (Satva, Rajas and Tamas) and caused to be made a flight of steps at (that part of) the bank of the *Dehotsarga*.

18. In the meantime that Śrī Somanātha, the ornament of the three worlds, ordered an ascetic named Viśveśvararāśi in a dream at the break of day.

19. O child! you, mightily illustrious as you are, are a part of me, born here to preserve your own abode, so you—who are powerful enough—will punish those who are hostile or whose conduct is against religion.

20. Mediating on what had happened at night, and being prayed to in the morning by the lord of the abode, he who was desirous of resuscitating this abode of the (god with the) moon, shone like the thousand-rayed sun.

21. He *(Viśveśvararāśī),* who had like God Śiva lustre and *Kalā,* who was as brilliant as the sun, and whose body was incomparably beautiful, took for his beloved wife Pratāpadevī who was like the three *Śaktis (Prabhāva, Mantra and Utsāha.)*

22. When Kumārapāla, the hero, went to heaven and enjoyed half the seat of Indra, Jayapāla, the mere raising of whose eyebrows, was sufficient to destroy his enemies, became king.

23. [This Śloka (verse) is not quite clear, but the gist appears to be that] as he improved the state of Śrī Soma to please the people of the place at the bold speech of king Jayapāla, he was established by the king in the seat of Gaṇḍa as Gaṇḍatīrtheśvara.

24. He, beautiful with the creeper-like necklace of the fine *Chāturjātaka,* on obtaining the leadership, looked as fine as Pināki (Śaṅkara) seated on his bull and worshipped by Indra and other gods.

25-26. When this king, who was born from a small part of *kalā* (of Śaṅkara), who destroyed all difficulties by constantly worshipping Nandīśa (Śiva) attained the eternal station *(Nijapada),* his son king Mūlaraja, who knew religion and was famous, succeeded him. He also worshipped * * * who was worshipped by * * *.

27. By his prowess,—he, who was worshipped by the family of Chālukya, even a woman easily conquered king Hāmīra in a battle, who * * *.

28. He (Mūlarāja) went to heaven even in youth as if he were desirous of (meeting) his father there. Then Bhīmadeva became the self-elected husband of Royalty.

29. He, who was like the crest-jewel in the diadems of kings, whose feet were adorned by the splendour of * * * who, by the flames of his prowess, was like a forest-conflagration to the cities of his enemies, who was very active and of wonderful power, bore the yoke of royalty.

30. * * * known as Jagadeva * * * who carefully assisted Bhīmadeva with his boy-friends.

31. His two red-like hands, * * * (he) proved a moon to the lotus-like queen of Prithvīrāja (?).

32. By him also * * * the conqueror of the world (= was Indra on this earth) spread the worship of Vishṇu.

33. He, who was wealthy, caused to be built a temple to Somanāṭha called Meghnāda * * *.

34. Having built a *Maṇ* (ḍapa) * * *.

35. Though just after attaining the royal seat he was busily engaged in thinking about the state affairs * * * often worshipped Śrī Gaṇḍa Viśveśvara with great respect, who was the ornament of the Brāhmaṇas and who was worthy of being worshipped * * *.

(The eight lines following are totally defaced and cannot be read.)

CINTRA PRAŚATI OF THE REIGN OF SĀRANGADEVA V. S. 1349

A copy of the subjoined inscription was first published in Murphy's *Travel in Portugal* (1798) together with the translation of Sir Charles Wilkins. The plate was reproduced 10 years ago by Dr. Burgess in No. 9 of the *memoranda* of the Archaeological Survey of Western India (BB. 1879, p. 104) with the restoration of the Sanskrit text by the late Dr. Bhagavan Lal Indraji. D. Bhagavan Lal's text is generally correct and reflects the highest credit on his ingenuity, since the copy on which he worked is very inaccurate. Still I believe that a new edition will not be superfluous. The inscription is incessed with great care and neatness on a long slab of polished stone measuring 42 inches by 20 and containing 66 lines. The stone is *now preserved in the Quinta of Don Joa De Castro at Cintra,* in Portugal, but as the contents of the inscription show, it originally belonged to a Temple at Somanātha or Devapaṭṭana of Sorath.

The document is well preserved on the whole, but 4 syllables are gone in the middle of line 15, 4 to 12 syllables at the end of lines 23-28 and 2 to 5 in the first part of lines 49-53. Besides, a few single letters have been destroyed or become indistinct here and there. The alphabet is the common *Nāgari* of the 13th century.

The language is not quite correct Sanskrit, and with the exception of two short sentences in the beginning and at the end, is throughout metrical. Towards the end, some Gujrati words and Gujaraticism appear.

The inscription contains Praśasti (Verse 75) composed in honour of the *Liṅgas* which a Śaiva ascetic called Tripurāntaka, erected at Somanātha Paṭṭaṇa or Devapaṭṭaṇa or Prabhāsa, the famous Śaiva Tīrtha in Sorath, now usually called Verāval.

The poem consists of :

St. 1 to 3: *Maṅgala,* preceded by a short prose invocation to Śiva.

First two verses are addressed to Śiva, the third to Gaṇeśa.

This is followed by the genealogy of the Chālukya Kings of Gujarat, descendants of Vyāghrapalliya or Vorghela branch founded by Dhavala.

Verse 4.

"The victorious and illustrious Viśvamalla, the head-jewel of Princes, adorned (formerly) the Chālūkya race, he, whose scimitar, though it had only two edges, his enemies (seeing it) from afar, regarded as (a thunderbolt) with a hundred edges."

Verse 5.

"This sole Lord of the world, a wonderful abode of courage, who all around uprooted with his arm, that is akin to the thunderbolt, the firmly rooted mountain-like kings, was called by his people King Nārāyaṇa."

Verse 6.

The glorious lord Vaidyanātha (Śiva) whose might destroys the misfortune of the torment of the world, placed in him, the ornament of the whole Kshtriya race, a portion of his self and he who had taken the vow of benefiting the universe, cured, as was proper, with his weapons even the big swellings of pride in the hearts of hostile kings.

Verse 7.

His consort as Nalladevī, who clave to his body just as the glory of victory; through her that king was exceedingly resplendent, like the god bearing the deer-mark (the moon) through his brilliant light.

Verse 8.

That king, the prowess of whose arm took rest (only when it reached) the boundaries of the quarters of the horizon, whose younger brother was Pratāpamalla, enjoyed the earth which, owing to the excess of his taste for wonderful bravery, was overshadowed by a single parasol.

Verse 9.

After the illustrious Viśvamalla had anointed Arjuna, the son of Pratāpamalla, to be his successor, he enjoyed (in heaven) banquets of ambrosia and the nectar of the lips of the celestial maidens.

Verse 10.

"That Crest-jewel of princes, His Majesty Arjuna, who was lovely on account of the virtues resplendent like the rays of the full moon, and who, an incarnation, as it were, of a portion of Dāmodara, gained great glory through his valour, drew riches from the earth, as if it were the cow of plenty."

Verse 11.

"After that guiltless man, an incarnation of Kṛishṇa, had grasped, in order to punish the wicked, the circle of the earth with his hand, that by its liberality surpassed the tree of paradise, he indeed, protected his subjects through his noble deeds."

Verse 12.

Victorious is the issue of his body, His Majesty Sāraṅga, whose heart is immersed in the happiness produced by his amorous dalliance with the fortune of the Gurjara kingdom, who is passionately addicted to the sport of rescuing the earth and who possessed a dignity (equal to that) of Śāraṅgdhara.

Verse 13.

"Through his power, he, in battle, reduced the powers of the Yādava and the Mālava Lords just as the lord of birds formerly (overcame) the hinge-bodied elephant and the Tortoise."

The next portion of the inscription, verses 14-39, is devoted to a description of the spiritual family of Tripurāntaka, the benefactor of the Tīrtha of Somanātha, and to an account of his virtues and his adventures. The section is introduced, as is often done in the late inscriptions and poems of Gujarat, by the words *itascha* 'and now' and its opening verses run as follows:—

Verse 14.

"The God who wears the infant moon on his head, and who grants rewards for the multitude of performances of austerities himself, became incarnate in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka Śri Lakulīśa in order to bestow favour on the universe.

Verse 15.

"And in order to favour the offspring of Ulūka, who, long was deprived of sons in consequence of a curse of their father, he came to and dwelt at Kārshaṇa, the forehead, as it were, of the earth, an ornament of the Lāṭa country (the poet meant to say 'an ornament of the Lāṭa country which latter resembles the forehead *lalāṭa* of the earth).

Verse 16.

In this (place) appeared, in order to fulfil particular Pāśupata vows, four pupils of his, called Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha and Maitreya.

Verse 17.

Afterwards the race of these ascetics, which grew up in four (branches) adorned the earth that is bounded by the four oceans.

Verse 18.

Through the succession of the high-minded men who were favoured by those (four) arose the glorious .... ka possessing boundless wealth.

Verse 19.

"An ablest *(Sthānādhipa)*, called Karttīkarāsi, who resembled a conglomerate (*rāśi*) of austerities in (human) shape and who took away the sins of his (spiritual) dependants by merely looking at them, became an ornament of Gārgya's line."

Verse 20.

(Next) arose compassionate Vālmīkirāśi, who owed his spiritual birth to the favour of that (Kārttīkarāśi's) lotus-hands, and who hallowed speech by the arrangement of his words and the road to the sanctuaries by the marks of his steps, which (arrangement of marks) were pure like his mind (i.e. he preached well and performed many pilgrimages).

Verse 21.

"He graciously appointed a young ascetic, called *Tripurāntaka* who sanctified the four quarters of the horizon in consequence of his desire to visit other sacred places."

These verses make us acquainted with three teachers of the Gārgya branch of the *Lakulīśa Pāśupatas,* who apparently were in succession, abbots or spiritual directors at some sacred place or of some *Maṭha* in Gujrat *(sthāna* has both the meanings); possibly the place where they resided may have been *Kārshaṇa.* But this is not certain for the last four syllables in *verse* 8 may have contained some other geographical name, and the sense of the verse may be that a *Matha* or sanctuary was established there by the spiritual descendants of the four pupils of *Lakulīśa* (the use of the verb equivalent to *abhūt* for 'was made' is not uncommon in the modern Indian vernaculars, and it is not impossible that our poet has fallen into a Gujaraticism). But, in any case, it is indisputable that *Kārshaṇa* in Lāṭa or Central Gujrat was the head establishment of these Śaivas because Śiva is said to have become incarnate there as Lakulīśa. Kārshaṇa is, it would seem, the modern Karvan on the Miyāgām Dabhoi railway; this village was according to its *Māhātmya* formerly called

Kāyavirohaṇa or Kāyārahun (Kāyārohaṇa?) and was, according to tradition, the place where Mahādeva, who had been born as Nakuleśvara in the family of a Brāhmaṇa of *Ulkāpurī* or *Avākhal,* reassumed his divine shape (cf. BB Gazetteer, Vol. VII, pp. 19-20 and pp. 550-51). *Ulkāpurī* is possibly a mistake for *Ulūkapurī* and *Māhātmya* may still contain a dim reminiscence of the myth narrated in verse 14. (The Gazetteer gives the names of Śiva as *Nekleśvar* or *Nakleśvar,* corruptions of the form *Nakuleśvara).*

It is "one of the four oldest and most famous seats of the worship of Śiva" and is situated in the district which used to be called Lāṭa. The words Lakulīśa and Nakulīśa are two vicarious forms of which the former is possibly the older one (reasons for considering *Lakulīśa* as the older form are (1) that the change of *la* to *na* is more common than that of *na* to *la;* (2) Lakulīśa can be easily explained as a compound of *lakulinil lakulīna* and *iśa* i.e. the Lord wearing the staff (i.e. the *khatvāṅga),* though the latter one is that commonly used in Sanskrit literature.

The docrines of the Nakulīśa Pāśupatas are explained at length in Sāyaṇa's *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* (p. 108 Cowell & Gough), but nothing is known regarding their history. It is, therefore, very interesting to learn that in the 13th Century A.D. Gujarat was considered to be the country where the seat arose and that Karshaṇa—Karvan—claimed the honour of being the place where its founder was born and where his school was divided into four branches.

As regards the antiquity of the seat, nothing is stated in the inscription.

Kārtikarāśi, the first historical head of these Pāśupatas, cannot have succeeded to his office much before the year A.D. 1225 since the third was alive in 1287.

The next three verses are not important and most of them are badly mutilated.

Verses 23-24. Tripurāntaka's pilgrimage was directed to the Himālayas where he visited Kedāra i.e. Kedārnāth in Garhwal and there worshipped Śiva with lotuses taken from the pure *Brahmasaras.* Thence he turned southwards and bathed at Prayāga, modern Allahabad at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (*verse* 26). From Allahabad he wandered to the Śrīparvata *(verse* 27) which he circumambulated in the orthodox fashion, and where he was blessed by the aspect of divine Mallinātha. The mountain seems not to be identical with the Southern

Śrīparvata. Śrīśaila must lie south of Allahabad and north of the Narmadā.

The next verse (28) informs us that Tripurāntaka afterwards bathed in the "waters of the Revā which are tossing among the rocks of the Vindhya mountains that are hallowed by the traces of Agastya's footsteps."

From the Narmadā he turned to the Godāvari (*verse* 29) and visited Tryaṃbaka, i.e. Trimbak near Nāsik. Still continuing to travel southwards, the pilgrim reached Rameśvaram and the bridge of Rāma (*verse* 30). Finally he returned to the north-west and came to Devapaṭṭaṇa or Prabhāsa, where the river Sarasvatī flows into the ocean (*verses* 31-33).

There he received high honours from the chief Temple priest (*verse* 34). Here the illustrious temple priest (Gaṇḍa) Bṛhaspati, who is visibly the husband of Umā (This phrase has a double sense. It means that the name of Bṛhaspati's wife was Umā and that he was an incarnation of Śiva) made him an Ārya and appointed him as sixth Mahaṭṭara.

Verse 35: The *Chāturjātaka* (This must be the title of a high local official) who was pleased with his virtues, rejoiced thinking "The Mahaṭṭara will restore the sacred place by his pure actions".

What these honours conferred on Tripurāntaka exactly were, whether Ārya and Mahaṭṭara refer to offices or were, what is more probably, mere titles, I am unable to determine. I must content myself pointing out that according to verse 9 of the *Somanāthapaṭṭan Praśasti,* Bhāva Bṛhaspati received the same honours from king *Jayasiṃha Siddharāja.* The *Gaṇḍa Bṛhaspati,* who honoured Tripurāntaka, is, of course, not as Dr. Bhagavan Lal suggests, the *Gaṇḍa Bhāva Bṛhaspati,* who was the contemporary of *Jayasimha* and of Kumārapāla. For these two kins reigned between Vikrama Saṁvat 1150 and 1229 while the date of our inscription is more than a hundred years later. Moreover the two Bṛhaspatis are clearly distinguished from each other by the statements regarding their wives. Bhāva Bṛhaspati was married according to verse 35 of the Somanāthapaṭṭan Praśasti, to Mahādevi, daughter of Sodhala and our *Bṛhaspati* to Umā (*below* verse 43). The name *Bṛhaspati* must, therefore, have been borne by more than one priest in charge of the temple of Somanātha at Devapaṭṭana or *Prabhāsa.*

The honours which Tripurāntaka received induced him to realise the hopes of the *Chāturjātaka* and to spend considerable sums on the *Tīrtha.*

The following verses (40-46) inform us that

(1) he built 5 temples.

(2) dedicated 5 statues.

(3) erected a *Toraṇa* (a sort of triumphal arch) supported by 2 pillars.

The five temples situated (*verse* 40) to the north of the *Maṇḍapa* or hall of the temple of Someśvara, close to the splendid old water-clock [*Ghatikālya,* modern Gujrati *ghadial* any kind of time-piece; and on the site '*vāsam adhisthitāni*='standing on the dwelling of'; may mean either that the five temples were built on the site of an ancient decayed temple or that the site was sacred to the God mentioned. *Vāsa*=means 'the precincts of a sacred building'. Śrīkānta Pañchamukha i.e. five-headed Śiva, surnamed Śrīkānta.] The first of these temples (verse 41) was built for the welfare of Tripurāntaka's mother Mālhaṇā and called *Mālhaṇeśvara.* The second (verse 42) was dedicated to Umāpati and erected in the name of the priest *Bṛhaspati,* who was the husband of Umā. The third called Umeśvara (verse 43) was built for the welfare of the priest's wife. The remaining two, a *Tripurāntakeśvara* and a *Rāmeśvara,* were named after the founder and his wife. The five statues (verse 44) (the word statue does not occur in the text but implies it; *Antarāla* is the 2nd *Maṇḍapa* of a temple between the *Ardhamṇḍapa* and the shrine) a *Gorakshaka* (gorakh-nāth), a *Bhairava,* an *Āñjaneya* (Hanumān), a *Sarasvatī* and a *Siddhi Vināyaka* (Gaṇeśa) were placed in the *Antarālas* of the five temples. The *toraṇa* finally was erected on the space *(bhū-parisaré)* before the north gate of these (five temples). This statement indicates that the temples were surrounded by a wall, and that the arch adorned the principal entry into the enclosure, which had to be made on the north side, as the great temple of Someśvara lay to the south and east and to the west the sea. The remaining portion of the inscription (verses 47 to 72) mentions the benefaction which Tripurāntaka made in order to provide for the service of the temple and rules regarding the worship. This section offers considerable difficulties because the rules regarding the worship are awkwardly arranged and obscure.

The only chance of clearing up all the difficulties would be enquiries on the spot among the priests of Somanātha and other Śaiva establishments in Kāthiawār and Gujarat.

The enumeration of the benefaction and the rules runs as follows—

Verse 47.

"In order to cleanse the gods daily—two *kāvidas* of water and a broom of *Zizyphus Jujuba* [Kolini=kolamayī=made of kola (Ziziphus Jujuba)] for sweeping the buildings [Jagati=Vastu (given for the word in the *Vaijayanti* of Yādava-prakāśa)].

Verse 48.

Both these things must be procured (and used) by a particularly clever pupil (*baṭuka)* in return for the use of *Naivedya* food (offerings destined for the meals of deities which are invariably made over to the temple servants) and of the money (allotted) for his monthly expenses regarding the allowances for the *chelā* (see verse 61).

Verse 49.

He (Tripurāntaka) who was purified by his natural inclination for giving gold, presented, out of kindness towards the town of the god who bears the crescent of the moon on his head, every month 8 *drammas* for (the purchase of) sandal-wood in the *mapāraka* (meaning unintelligible).

Verse 50.

"The guild of the gardeners shall furnish daily two hundred white roses (Śatapattra) and two thousand fragrant oleander blossoms (*Kaṇa-vīra* prakrit and vernacular form of *karavira).*

Verses 51.

"He assigned in the Parikshipaṭṭa six *drammas* for the monthly expenditure in order to procure .... a pure *vedikā* (Incomplete.)

Verse 52.

Two *māṇakas* of husked rice [(chosha)=Gujarati *chokha*] and one *māṇaka* of phaseolus mingo *(mudga),* four *karshas* (karsha=2 tolas; hence =8 tolas; at present tola=110-180 grains locally) of clarified butter and as much oil for the lamps. (The lamps are required for *Arātrika* in the morning and evening).

Five betel-nuts of good quality (all this) was provided by that constant man, a judge of the merits of others, daily in the store-house. (Couplet).

(The translation of *Sthitaka* is left out as it is not found in the dictionaries).

Verse 54.

He, who is attached to the performance of meritorious works, caused to be provided even here (i.e. in the store house), every month, two *maṇas* (maunds=40 seers) of fragrant gum (*Guggula*) for the time of offering incense.

Verse 55.

The *Mehara* (a watchman connected with *Tripurāntaka's* Temples and receiving some allowance from him) shall give daily fifty leaves of betel pepper for the preparation of *bitakas.* (Pān-Supāri: triangular shaped parcel of arecanut, lime etc., wrapped in a betel leaf and held together by a clove stuck into the leaf.)

Verse 56.

That which thus has been provided for the offerings in the sacred place (the temples) must be fetched by *Paśupāla* (=herdsman: but here the title of a Śaiva priest; a worshipper of Paśupati) from the store house of glorious [(Somanātha): if the restoration of Somanātha is correct, then the store house mentioned above in verse 53 is that of the great Temple] and be given (by him) to the person performing the worship.

Verse 57.

One *māṇaka* of rice (chosha) and two *Pallikas* (a small measure) of Phaseolus mingo, as well as two Karshas of clarified butter and so forth must be daily given (by the keeper of the store house) to the *Paśupāla* for offering. (The materials were, of course, intended for the daily *Naivedya* of the five gods).

Verse 58.

(Even this) must be daily given for the *Naivedya* offering; then that food must be carefully cooked by the pupil *(baṭuka)*.

Verse 59.

After performing the declaration of purpose *(Saṅkalpya)* the *Paśu*-pāla must give that *Naivedya* and the *bītakas* to the pupil who performs (the worship).

Verse 60.

He (Tripurāntaka), the most excellent of the virtuous, caused one *dramma* to be assigned daily (from the revenue) in the custom-house (maṇḍapikā) by an edict (Śāśana) of the *Chāturjātaka.*

[Tripurāntaka paid money in order to secure this grant and that mentioned in the next verse: Verse 71 declares that he purchased the *Śāśana* with his pure self-acquired wealth.]

Verse 61.

Even these (from the revenue in the custom-house) this noble-minded man caused nine *drammas* to be assigned (monthly) for the maintenance of the pupil (*baṭuka,* who serves the temples).

Verse 62.

Fifteen *drammas* must be given every month to the *Paśupāla,* who comes to perform incomparable worship (according to the law).

Verse 63.

For this purpose he (Tripurāntaka) placed every month fifteen *drammas* in the treasury of the worshipful *Chāturjātaka* (Original *Sammilitapottaké*: The author has taken *pottaka*—adaptation of the Persian *Fotah,* which occurs in Gujarati as *potum* and means 'the total of village *taxes'*; hence the word=the place where the village taxes are collected i.e. the treasury. In Marāthi poteni=Treasury).

Verse 64.

Rejoicing in his heart, he purchased for money from the worshipful *Chāturjātaka* three excellent shops and presented (them as an endowment for his temples).

Verse 65.

The best among these, the illustrious *Chāturjātaka,* who wears the garland of faith in god Śiva, made over to the gardeners in exchange for their daily furnishing the quantity of flowers (required) for the worship (This was apparently the remuneration for which the guild of the gardeners furnished the flower).

Verse 66.

The merchants too (*mahājanāḥ*=merchants; in Gujrati too *mahājana* means the same) assigned from each shop one *dramma* in order to provide the *pavitraka* and the *vistaraṇa* at the festivals on the full-moon days of Chaitra and Bhādrapada (*Viśeshasthitaké* left out).

Verse 67.

At the Śivarātrī (festival) the betel-nuts for the *bītaka* of the *Chāturjātaka* must be furnished by the store house (of the temple of Somanātha) and the leaves by the Mehara. (It is customary to offer *pan-supari* to officials or heads of towns and villages on the occasion of great festivals.)

Verse 68.

Three pure-minded shop-keepers must always personally provide garlands, coconuts and pairs of soft garments in the three royal processions of the glorious Lord Somanātha.

(In this verse *Yugāḥ* is translated as 'pairs of garlands' but it is conjectural. On such occasions as *Śivarātrī*, it is quite usual to adorn the streets with cloth).

Verse 69.

After the *Paśupālaka* has first worshipped these five Temples according to the manner (prescribed) for (the worship of) divine Someśvara, he shall afterwards ascend the stairs (leading to the temple) of the glorious deity. (This rule refers to *Śivarātrī).*

Verse 70.

He (Tripurāntaka) gave to the worshipful *Chāturjātaka* a *dharmasthāna* (land or money assigned for a religious purpose: Cf. *Devasthāna*).

Verse 71.

As he procured this *Dharmasthāna* and this grant (*Śāśana* mentioned above) with pure self-acquired property, the banner of his fame which is connected with his temples, glitters brilliantly white like the full moon.

Verse 72.

In the middle of the Temple, which is a monument of the fame of illustrious priest (Gaṇḍa) Rāṇaka Bṛhaspati and an ornament to the bank of king Sāraṅga's Lake, he has caused to be built a chapel of his own particular god, a pleasure house of Śrī.

Verses 73-74.

Contain a general eulogy of Tripurāntaka and verse 75 mentions that Dharaṇīdhara, son of Dhanḍha was the author of our *Praśasti*.

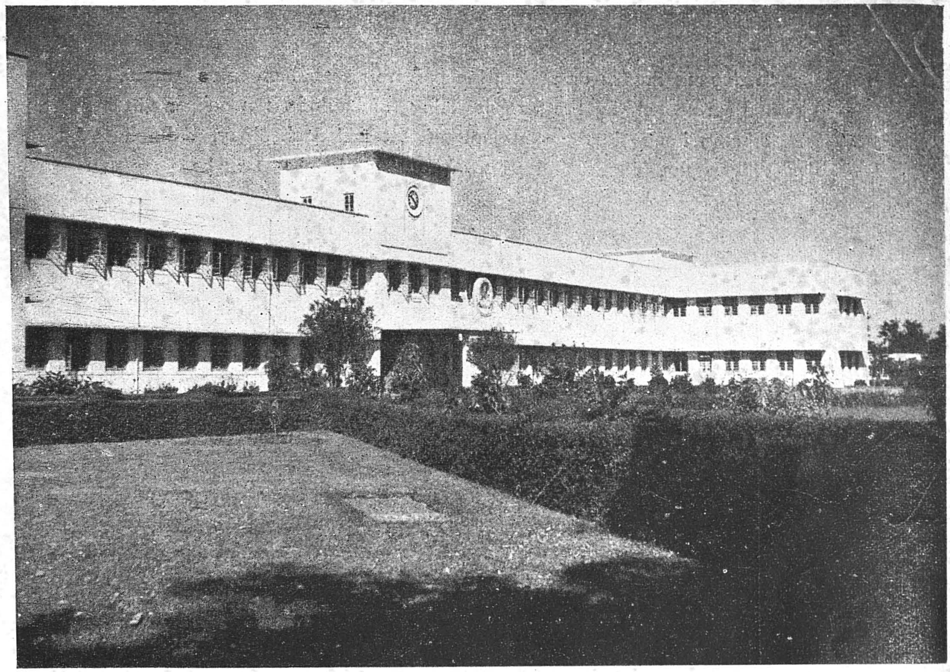
Verse 76.

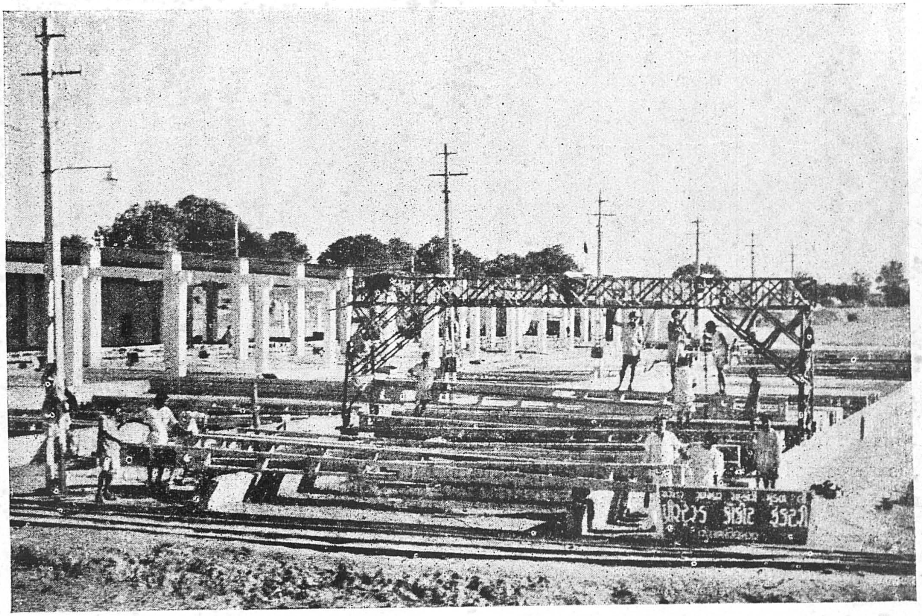
Declares that the manuscript of the poem was written by the councillor (*Mantrin*) Vikrama, the son of Pūrṇasiṁha, and that it was incessed by the artist (*Śilpin*) i.e. the mason Pūṇasiha, the son of Nāhada.

According to the Colophon, the consecration of the five *Liṅgas* took place on Monday, the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Māgha, Vikrama Saṁvat 1343, or according to Dr. Schram's calculation, on January 20, 1287 which was a Monday. This date is not of any great historical importance as Sāraṅga ruled for 20 or 22 years until A.D. 1296-97.

VALLABH VIDYANAGAR AS A CENTRE OF EDUCATION.

Birla Vishvakarma Mahavidyalaya (College of Engineering).





The Pre-stressed Concrete Pole Factory

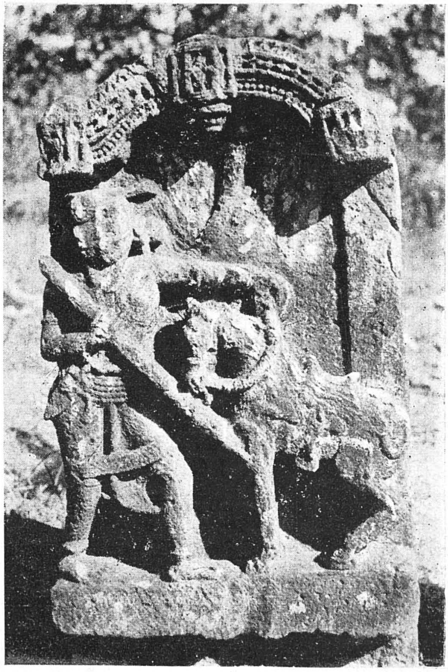
VALLABH VIDYANAGAR AS A CENTRE OF RURAL UPLIFT

GAUTAMA BUDDHA

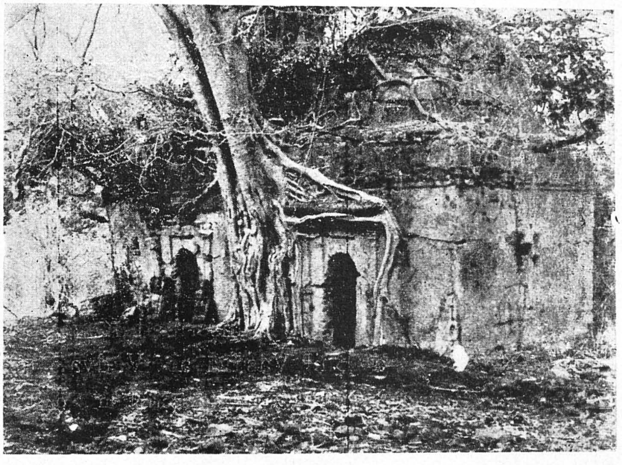
In *dhyana mudra* or meditation posture, seated on lotus throne and protected by the serpent King Muchilinda : a copper gilt Tibetan image in the Museum of Art and Archeology, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Thooti Collection of Bronzes : height 21 inches.

The Nagas or serpents play an important role in the legend of Gautama Buddha. They assisted at his birth and gave him his first bath. They came to hear him preach and became his disciples. It is recounted that Mara, god of evil, unchained the fury of the elements to disturb Buddha's meditation, Muchilinda, a serpent king residing in the nearby pond of the same name, wound his coils around him and spread his hood over the Buddha's head to protect him during the *samadhi*.

A. V. P.

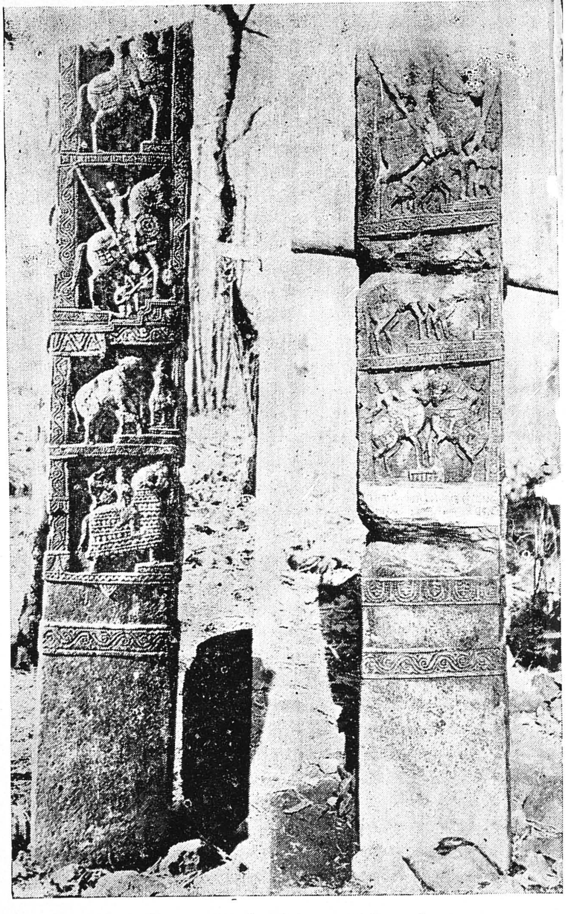


The *Palia* of a Bhil Warrior near Malsamot, 14th Century



The Shrine at Junaraj (Rajgir) bearing Inscription v. s. 1677, No. 26

An Image of Chāmunda from Dumkhal (14th cent.)



Inscribed *Khambhis* of a Bhil Vasāvā at Vadva, dated v. s. 1476.
(Inscription No. 18)

Plate XIII B

अलीराजपुर के निकट गुजरानीमें श्री. अमृत पंडया द्वारा खोज निकाला हुआ

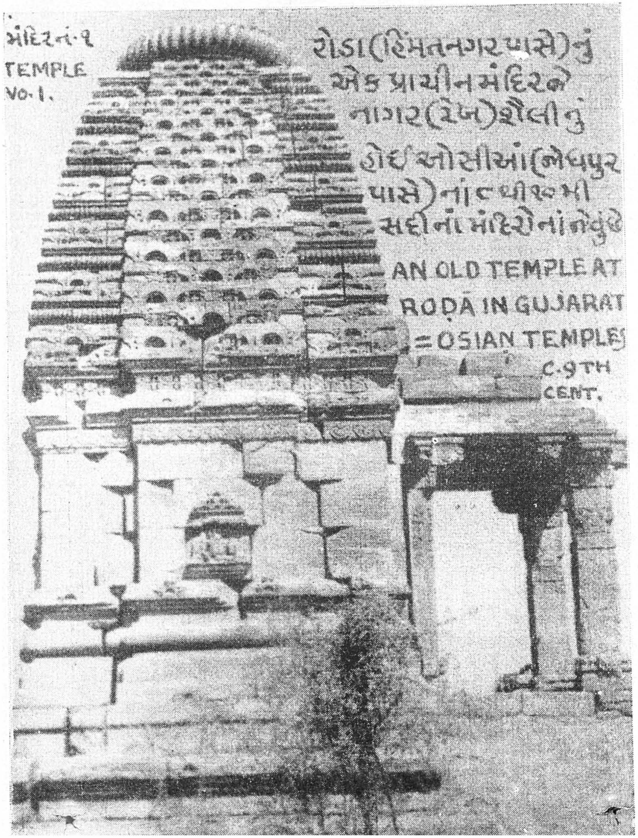
मालव (परमार-कालीन) शैलीका एक प्राचीन मंदिर.

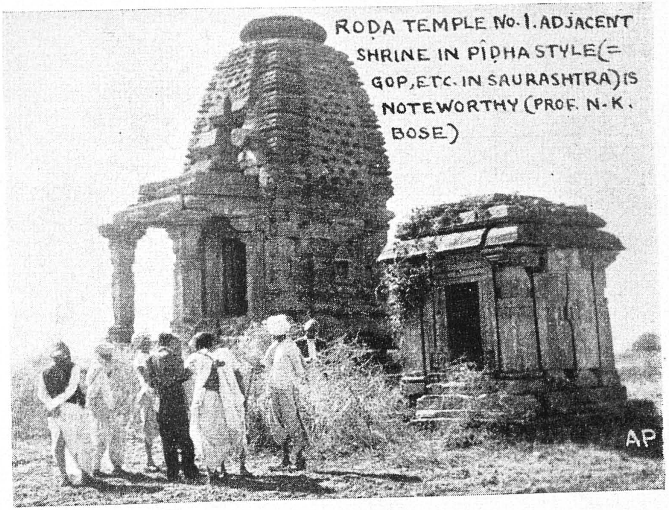
A Temple of the Malwa (Parmar) Type discovered by A. V. Pandya at Gujrani near Alirajpur in Madhya Pradesh.

परमार राजा भोज-प्रथम के समय (११मी सदी) की इस शैली के मंदिर उदयपुर-मालवा, नेमावर, ब. में है।

गुजरातमां रेख (नागर) शैलीनां आ.८मा सैकाना रोडा (साबरकांठा) नां प्राचीन मंदिरो.

The Rekha (Nagar) Temples at Roda, Sabarkantha Dist., C. 8th century

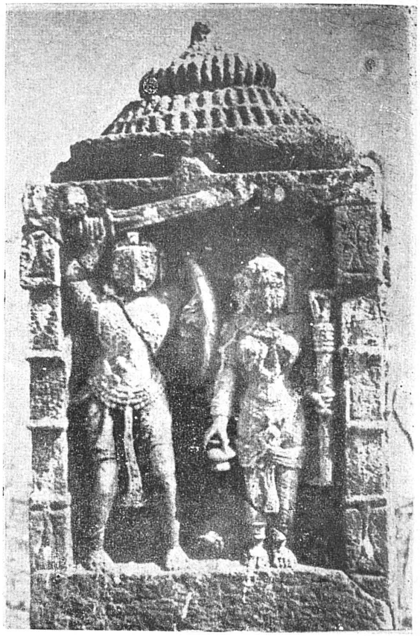




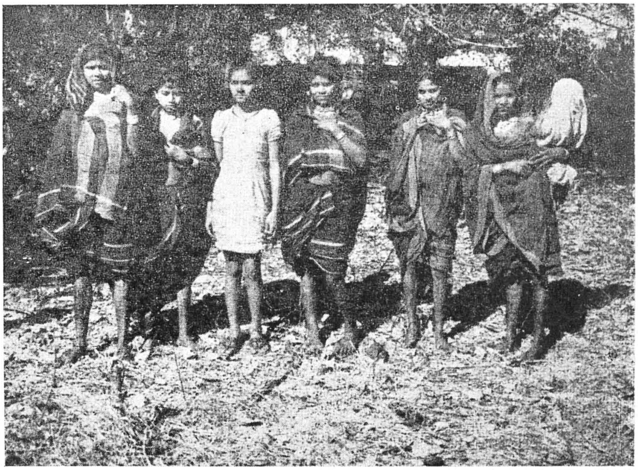
ओरिस्साना स्थापत्यना निष्णांत प्रो. निर्मळकुमार बसु (नोआखालीना रहेठाण वखते पू. बापूजीना मंत्री, बंग साहित्य परिषद्ना मंत्री अने जाणीता मानवशास्त्री) ए वल्लभ विद्यानगरना सहकारथी हालमां ज आ मंदिरो तपास्यां छे.

These temples have recently been studied in details by Prof. Nirmalkumar Bose (authoriy on the Orissan architecture; Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi at Noakhali; Secretary, Bengal Sahitya Parisad and Editor of the 'Man in India) with the co-operation of Vallabh Vidyanagar.

The Inscribed Sati *Khambhi* at Dumkhal, Dated v. s. 1443, No. 41



Patavli *Khambhi* of v. s. 1481, No. 19 depicting the portrait of a deceased Bhil chief (Vasava) and his wife



A Group of the Bhil Girls of the Dumkhal Area (The third from the left is not a local girl)

'AN IMAGE OF BALARAM FROM THE RAIPUR HILL'

By Shri Arya R. C. Tiwari

EXHIBIT NO. 12, THE MUSEUM OF ART & ARCHAEOLOGY, VALLABH VIDYANAGAR

A Stone Head from the Ancient Remains on the Summit of the Raipur (Achhali) Hill near Chhot-Udaipur, Baroda Dist.

is taxed at several stages, in local, State and Union finances. It is difficult to find out a formula which might tax the property after taking into consideration the burden of taxes it has already carried for the local and state governments. Moreover, the capacity to shift the burden of tax is different for different properties, and therefore we have to introduce differential taxation on properties; but the differential formula is also difficult to devise. Therefore, it seems that a capital tax for a country like India is unsuitable and some other alternative device shall have to be sought if we really want to raise the govenment's revenue.

How can we correct the deficiencies of income tax without imposing a capital tax? The dificiencies can be removed in several ways; one way of doing the job is to impose estate duty which we have already done in India. Secondly, we can give family allowances in fixing the exemption limit in income tax. Thirdly, gifts, appreciation in capital value, bonus shares and valuables can be taxed once and for all. We should also impose heavy taxes by way of purchase tax on the durable consumers' goods, like radio and furniture. And in this way we can tax certain types of properties on which it is not convenient to impose any annual capital tax.

It is also desirable to discriminate heavily between earned and unearned income. At present, there is some discrimination between them by way of earned income allowances; this can easily be raised, or different rates of taxes be imposed on both the types of incomes. Thus by taxing unearned income, imposing taxes on valuables, taxing the bonus shares and by introducing purchase tax on durable consumers goods, we can tax heavily that part of income which we want to tax by way of capital tax. Administratively, this will be easier, and economically, this will not deter risky investment. On the contrary, this will give a premium to earned income and hence there will be a greater incentive to work. At present the net capital formation is upto 7% of the national income. The changes which we suggest in the tax-structure, along with others recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Commission may lead the country on the right way without involving us in the complications of a capital tax, which may lead to a strike of capital similar to that of 1947–'48. If we fail in our new tax-policy it will not bring any hazardous consequences, while, if we fail to manage capital tax, it will perhaps kill the hen that lays the golden egg. It is no use disturbing the private sector at this juncture by such changes which may bring more harm than good.

A Dashavatara Relief From Mehlav.

By: Shri Arya Ramchandra G. Tiwari, M. A., LL. B.,
V. P. Mahavidyalaya, Vallabh Vidyanagar

A broken and mutilated slab of the reddish Jodhpur sandstone* with some mythological figures in relief was found at Mehlav (महेळाव), a large village (population 5941) in Petlad taluka of the Kaira dist. (Charotar tract of Gujarat), Bombay State, which has been identified with the village Mahilabali (श्री खेटकाहारे उप्पलहेटपथके महिलाबली नाम ग्रामः) mentioned in the Alina Plates of the Maitraka ruler Siladitya-VII, dated (Valabhi) Era 447 (A. D. 766-97) [1]. The village is situated on the cart-track from Sojitra to Anand, lying about 6 miles to N.W.W. from the former (22° 34′ N, 72° 49′ E). It has a high school, two primary schools and is a center of the bidi-manufacturing industry, having eight establishments. The Mehlav relief is now placed in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, Vallabh Vidyanagar. Shri B. D. Patel, Vice Chancellor of Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth, kindly obliged me by a commission to study and report on this piece of sculpture. The following is the report of its study

Particulars of the Relief:—

Size:— Length 3′ – 7″ × height 1′ – 7″ × breadth 6″.

Condition:— Broken and mutilated. It is quite obvious that some portion of this piece is lost.

Description:—

(a) Two standing male figures with mutilated faces holding bows in their left hands. A sitting person with folded hands occupies the lower corner at the feet of the first person of this pair from the left.

(b) A cross-legged person sitting on a thick pad on a stool with a butterfly like ornamentation over his head for an umbrella. This article consists of two thick overhanging leaves stemming from a thick bangled stump.

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* "The quarries of this Upper Vindhyan Age sandstone occur at Fidusar and Khāṭu in the Jodhpur dist., Rajasthan."— Prof. Shri S. K. Pathak, Birla Vishwakarma Mahavidyalaya, Vallabh Vidyanagar.

1. Corpus Inscrip. Ind., III. p. 171-3, ed. Dr. Fleet. The identification of 'Mehlav' with 'Mahilābalī' of this inscription was made by Shri Amrit Pandya: vide his article entitled, 'आणंदनेा प्राचीन इतिहास', published in the Gujarati weekly 'જનતા', dated 17th Nov. 1951, p. 14.

(c) A rider with upstretched right hand flourishing a sword on a galloping horse. Two persons with horn-like pipes are playing their instruments in the sky. A person behind the rider appears to be sitting on the hind part of the animal near its tail and holds an umbrella over the head of its rider.

(d) A person, with a hooded shade very near his head, is lying on a snake couch supported by a cot. A lady, sitting on an ornamented cylindrical stool with two thick round cotton pads, is massaging his feet. Four standing female figures with folded hands form its background.

***Meaning of the relief*:–**

(a) Rāma and Lakshmaṇa; in warrior pose:

(b) Buddha sitting in padmāsana pose;

(c) Kalki riding on a horse;

(d) Vishṇu resting on Sheshanāga and with his consort Lakshmi in attendance;

(e) The seated figure near Rāma is a votary and the four females near Vishṇu, for want of any other satisfactory identification, should be regarded as Nāgakanyās.

***Problems*:–**

The relief depicts the several incarnations of Vishnu. However, two very interesting problems are presented by this panel. First, the absence of Lord Krishṇa, the eighth incarnation of Vishṇu following Rama;[2] second, the absence of lotus which acts as the seat of Brahmā.

***Importance of the relief*:–**

It is clear from the relief that Krishna was at one time not regarded as the successor of Rama in the list of the incarnations of Vishṇu. This view is supported by Mahabharata (XII. 349.37), Daśavatara Cave (No. XIV) and Kailash Temple (Monument No. XIV) reliefs at Ellora, which have only Krishna, Varāha, Vāmana and Nrisiṃha. Thus historically Rama came to be included in the list of incarnations of Vishnu, not before but, after Krishna whose worship is referred to in Arthashastra (Bk. XIV. ch. 3.) of Kautilya (4th cen. B. C.). So the right place for Rama is not before but after Krishna This relief is an illumining archaeological evidence in support of this view.

The absence of lotus-seated Brahmā in the representation of Vishṇu is very significant. A relief in Māmallapuram (Mahabalipuram)[3] and another at Nandurbar (West Khandesh) show a sleeping Vishnu with a snake-couch and Laksahmi but without lotus and Brahmā. In the panel above the figure of Vishnu at Nandurbar, all the ten incarnations of Vishnu are shown. This clearly proves

2. Brahma Purana: IHQ XI/1-p-122; Matsya P.: IHQ XI/1-p-124.

3. Vogel: Indian Serpent-lore, Pl. XIX facing p. 194.

that one school represented Vishnu without lotus-seated Brahmā as late as that period in which Kalki and Buddha were accepted as incarnations of Vishnu. A relief in Rajputana Museum, Ajmer (Exhibit No. 44) shows Brahmā seated on a short-legged stool just above the navel of Vishnu, reclining on his snake-couch and attended by Lakshmi. The Ajmer relief points to some intermediary artistic tradition when Brahma was accepted as born out of the navel of Vishnu but was not by that time bestowed with a lotus seat.

The last but not the least important fact obvious from this relief is the unmistakable proof of some trade connection and communication between Marwar and Gujarat as early as the time of this relief and that one of the items of commerce between the two countries was red sandstone. (The author is thankful to Prof. S. K Pathak for identification of the rock of the slab).

Time of the Relief :—

The presence of Buddha proves that the relief should belong to a period later than 4th cen. A. D.[4] However, it is pertinent to note that by that time the idea of Vishnu with lotus stemming from his navel to seat Brahma had developed (cf. Kailash Temple, Ellora), still lotus-less and Brahmā-less Vishnu was not unknown (cf. Nandurbar relief). Though we have no definite clue about the lower limits of the Mehlav relief, on the strength of the absence of lotus-less Vishnu images in 10th century A. D., it is safe to fix its time between 6th to 10th cen. A. D., i. e., about 8th century A. D.‡

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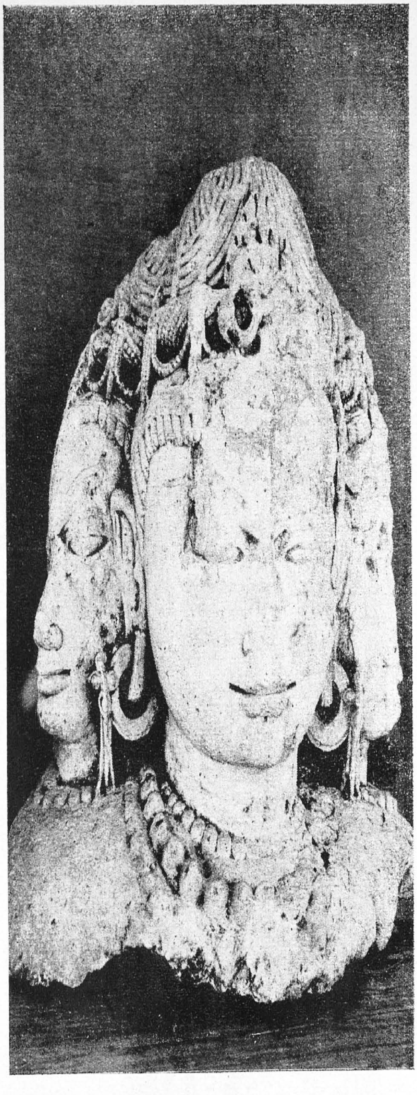
4. Harivaṁśa (Bk. 1 Ch. 24) mentions Kalki as an incarnation of Vishnu and it belongs to 5th cen. A. D. (IHQ XI/1-p. 121; ABORI VIII/288). It excludes Buddha. A Pallava inscription of 7th cen. A. D. (Memoirs of Arch. Surv. Ind. No. XXVI/5) mentions all the ten incarnations of Vishnu. So Buddha would have been included in this list between 5th and 7th cen. A. D. i., e., in 6th cen. A. D. This view is supported by the fact that Kalki P. (3/21-29) mentions Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu and this Purana belongs to cir. 6th cen. A. D.

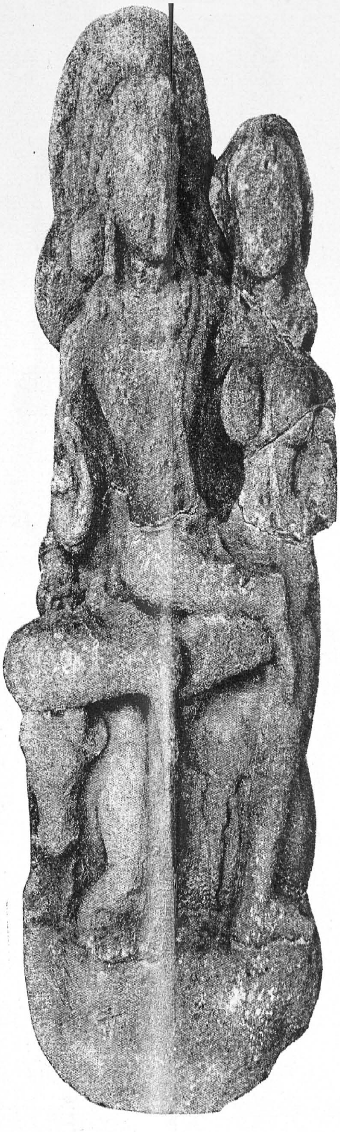
‡ It is noteworthy in this connection that the date of the Mehlav sculpture thus arrived at by Prof. Tiwari on iconographical grounds corresponds fairly well with the date of the Alina Plates of Siladitya-VII in which Mahilabali is mentioned. It may therefore be surmised that the relief in question represents probably a specimen of the art of the Valabhi period.

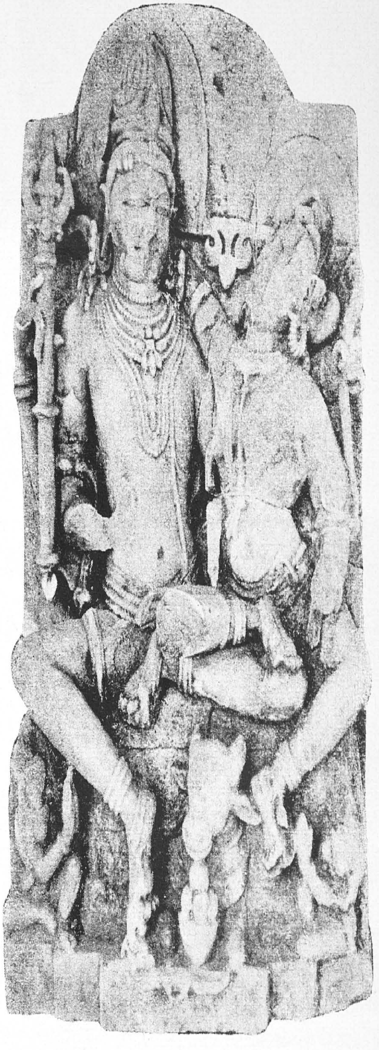
A. V. P.

'गुजरातना नर्मदाकांठे मळी आवेली केटलीक प्राचीन पाषाण प्रतिमाओ,' ले. अमृत पंडया

(प्रादेशिक भाषा–गुजराती विभाग, पृ. ४९)







एलिफन्टानी त्रिमूर्ति करतांय वधु प्राचीन लीमोदरा (राजपीपळा विभाग) नी त्रिमूर्ति
समय आ. ७मी शताब्दिनी

Trimurti from Limodra near Rajpipla, C. 7th cent. A D.
(Older than the Elephanta Trimurti)

अकतेश्वर (राजपीपळा विभागनी) नी उमामहेश्वर मूर्तिओ

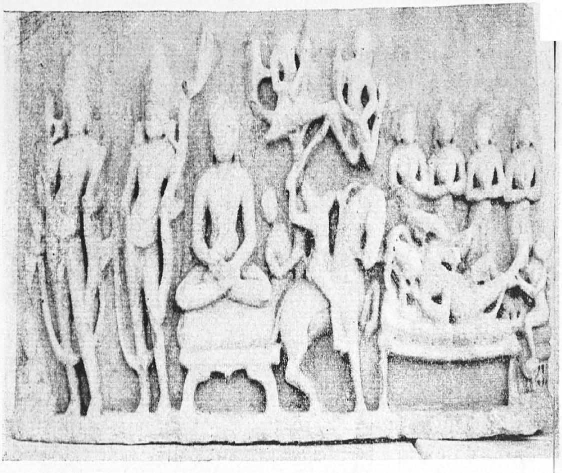
आ. ७मी शताब्दि | आ. १०मी शताब्दि

Uma-Maheswar from Akhteshwar

(संशोधक अमृत पंडया–All Discovered by A. V. Pandya)

‘A Dashavatara Relief from Mehlav’ by Shri R. G. Tiwari

(I. L. Section pp. 8–10)



चरोतरमां महेळाव खातेथी मळी आवेल वलभीना मैत्रकवंशना समयनो (८मी सदी) दशावतार शिलापट्ट

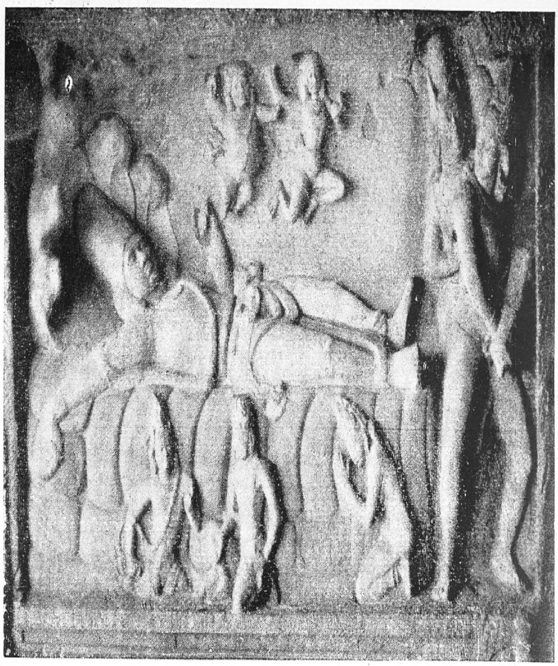
Dashavatar Relief from Mehlav in Charotar, Kaira Dist.

अजमेरना राजपुताना संग्रहस्थानमांनो वागड प्रदेशनो शिलापट्ट नं. ४४ जेमां महेळावना शिलापट्टनी जेम शेषशायी विष्णुना नाभिकमळ पर ब्रह्मा बेठेला नथी

Relief of Anantashayi Vishnu, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer

By courtesy : Shri U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer

Anantashayi Vishnu at Mamallapuram



मामल्लपुरम् (महाबलीपुर) खातेनी अनंतशायी विष्णुनी प्रतिमा

(I. L. S. p. 9)

An image of the → Buddha found in the ruins of the ancient city of Trambavati at Nagara (Nagarka of the Maitraka plates) near Cambay.

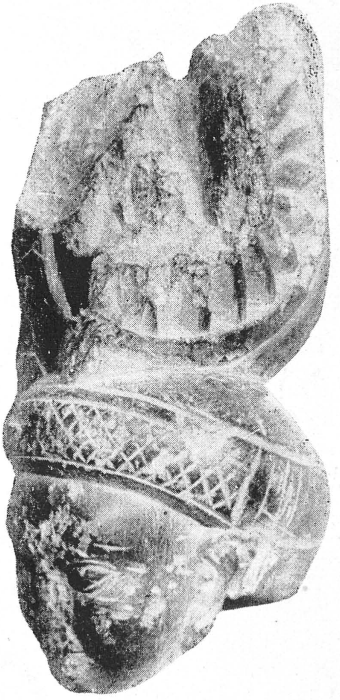
नगरा गाम (खंभात पासे) मां आवेला त्रम्बावती नगरीना अवशेषोमांथी मळी आवेली बुद्धनी प्रतिमा

The oldest piece of sculpture found in Gujarat

Discovered by **Shri Bhailalbhai D. Patel,**

Founder and Vice–Chancellor, Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapith.

Sojitra, a town situated on Nadiad-Bhadran branch line of Western Rly., was formerly a trade and cultural centre in Central Gujarat. It was located in ancient times on the great highway which led from Mahinagar (Minnagar of the Greek accounts on India, now in ruins near Cambay. It is now known as Nagara) and later from Stambhatirtha (Cambay) to Central and Northern India. The town still bears witness to its past glory. A stone head, illustrated here, was discovered by Shri Bhailalbhai D. Patel during one of his frequent visits to Sojitra which is his home–town. The head, which is the remaining part of an entire figure, is carved nicely in the talc-serpentine rock which occurs in the area lying to the north of the Sabarkantha Dist. The peculiar facial features of the head and its striking resemblance to the three Kushan sculptures exhibited at the Archaeological Museum, Mathura (Image of seated Surya from Kankali mound, bearing Museum No. 269: a female figure under an Ashoka tree from the Jamalpur mound No. 23 and a head with an ornamented turban, No. 673). It appears to belong to approximately 1–2nd century A. D., if not earlier. Kshatrapa coins of Rudradaman I, Rudrasimha I and Rudrasena have recently been reported from the vicinity of Sojitra. The height of the image is eight inches. We congratulate Shri Bhailalbhai Patel for the important discovery of this head which is the oldest antiquity of its class found so far in Gujarat.



A. V. P.

DANCE
A sculpture by
Shri Kantilal B. Patel
Vallabh Vidyanagar

नर्तकी
शिल्पी : कांतिलाल ब. पटेल
वल्लभविद्यानगर

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Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1956.

DANCING MĀTṚIKĀS OF BHERAGHAT

By Debala Mitra

(Communicated by Dr. J. N. Banerjea)

The circular cloister, famous as the Chausath Yogini temple, on the top of a hillock overlooking the Narmada near its sacred confluence with a small stream at Bheraghat in District Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, has generally been assigned to the tenth century A.D. on the basis of the palaeography of the inscribed images enshrined in its niches.[1] Though the temple is well known as belonging to the sixtyfour Yoginis, the provision of eighty-one niches around the enclosure definitely shows that from its very inception it was designed for the enshrinement of as many images, inclusive of the conventional sixtyfour Yoginis. Even now, all the niches contain sculptures, most of them badly mutilated; but centuries of reshuffling have greatly disturbed their original arrangement, and a few niches contain more than one image each. Leaving aside the two incongruous sculptures (one of Hanumān and the other a crudely-executed lower half of a standing figure of purplish sandstone), which apparently found their way to the temple at a much later date, the images fall stylistically into two distinct groups. The majority, constituting the first group, bear labels, in some cases lost, on their pedestals in tenth-century characters; richly bejewelled, they are mostly seated and very rarely standing, and are characterized by elaborately-carved stela. The second group, which forms the subject of the present paper, consists of uninscribed dancing figures carved in high relief, each on a plain rectangular slab of reddish sandstone. Cunningham recognized four such dancing females.[2] R. D. Banerji also noted the difference in the style of execution between the two groups of images and observed: 'There are five images of the second type in the circular temple at Bheraghat. In this class of images the figures are always standing and have been ruthlessly mutilated at some later date. This class of images is not inscribed but appear to belong to the Kushan period'.[3]

However, an examination of the dancing figures does not warrant this early dating, and even a glance at Pls. I and II[4] will be sufficient to convince anybody of the post-Gupta origin of the sculptures. In spite of the prominent *trivalī*-marks, diaphanous drapery, restraint in ornamentation and simplicity of conception, all reminiscent of Gupta tradition, they hardly exhibit the soft plasticity of modelling and delicacy of features characterizing Gupta classicism. Indeed, the lack of proportion between the upper and lower limbs, coupled with hardened features, bespeaks more a stage of exhaustion than of consummation. On these considerations, we shall not be far wrong if we place the sculptures to about the end of the seventh century.

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[1] R. D. Banerji. The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments. *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, **23**, p. 69.

[2] *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, IX, p. 63.

[3] The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments. *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, **23**, 78.

[4] Photographs reproduced here are the copyright of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

The sculptures in question form a distinct group by themselves from the point of view of material, subject-matter, general treatment and style. All are four-armed and are shown in the dancing pose. Besides a pendant dangling gracefully on one of their thighs, they wear necklaces of varying designs, armlets (*aṅgada*), girdles (*mekhalā*), anklets (*nūpura*) and ear-rings (*kuṇḍalas*) and are clad in transparent lower garments with ends meeting in front. The aureoles (mostly broken) have a border of lotus-petals.

In spite of their sadly-mutilated condition (the head is partially preserved only in one case) and complete disappearance of the forearms with the attributes in the hands, four out of the group can easily be identified with the Mātṛikās Brahmāṇī (Pl. I A, left figure), Kaumārī (Pl. I B), Vaishṇavī (Pl. II A) and Indrāṇī (Pl. II B), by their respective *vāhanas*, viz. swan, peacock, Garuḍa and elephant, carved near their right foot. The figure of Garuḍa to the left of Vaishṇavī is greatly damaged, but the extant traces of wings leave little doubt about its identity. Besides, the goddess wears a long garland (*vaijayantī-mālā*), characteristic of Vishṇu, which is absent in other images. Kaumārī is distinguished by a *kucha-bandha* (breast-band) instead of the long pleated scarf (*uttarīya*), the ends of which can be seen in the images of Brahmāṇī and Indrāṇī hanging by their sides. The right-hand figure on Pl. I A can be identified as Māheśvarī by virtue of her *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The small figure near the left foot of each goddess, recognizable wherever the lower portion of the back-slab is intact, apparently stands for the child of these mother-goddesses.

Of the images of the remaining two Mātṛikās, viz. Vārāhī and Chāmuṇḍā, which almost certainly existed here, one seems to be represented by an utterly mutilated sculpture (marked 38A when I visited the monument in 1955); even in its badly-disfigured condition, the sculpture, of the same reddish sandstone as the identifiable ones, can definitely be regarded as belonging to the aforesaid group. It can also be seen that it lacks the features of Chāmuṇḍā, and should therefore almost certainly be identified with Vārāhī. Of Chāmuṇḍā, no representation seems to exist at present, but her remains may be sought for in the heap of fragments lying in the courtyard of the temple.[1]

To complete the whole Sapta-Mātṛikā group, the figures of Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, the guardians of the Mātṛikās according to the iconographic texts,[2] are also identifiable among the enshrined images (Pls. III B and IV B). Executed in the same style and the material as the Mātṛikās, they, too, are shown in a dancing pose. The attributes of Vīrabhadra strictly conform to the requirements of the texts, as he has matted locks and holds both *vīṇā* and *triśūla*; in addition to the usual ornaments he wears a double garland made of bones (*asthimālā*).

Presumably, therefore, Bheraghat was a centre of the Śākta cult in the seventh century, when a temple was built in honour of the Sapta-Mātṛikās. Either on the ruins of this temple, or with the growing popularity of the Tāntric cult of the sixtyfour Yoginis, an altogether new temple came to be erected here to house the entire Yogini pantheon. The older images were, however, not neglected and found place alongside the new ones in the niches

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[1] It appears that the sculpture of Chāmuṇḍā existed when Cunningham visited the place, for he mentions the dancing image of 'the skeleton goddess Kāli' (no. 44 of his list) in the earlier group; *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[2] *Matsya Purāṇa* (Bangavasi ed.), ch. 261, verses 38 and 39:

Vināyakañ cha kurvīta Mātṛīṇām antike sadā ||
Vīreśvaraścha bhagavān vṛishārūḍho jaṭādharaḥ |
Vīṇāhastas triśulī cha Mātṛīṇām agrato bhavet ||

of the cloister, the circular formation of which may be due more to the exigency of the Tāntric rituals [1] than to the expedience of arranging so many images under one roof. It is quite likely that the name of the locality (Bheraghat) is a modern form of some such original word like Bhairava(ī)-ghāṭ.

The available iconographic texts enjoin that the Mātṛikās are to be represented as seated, though here, as also in several other places, mostly in Central India, they are shown in a dancing attitude. A set of independent Mātṛikā images, bearing striking similarity to the Bheraghat specimens and originally hailing from Kota, are now exhibited in the Gwalior Museum. Of the four images of the group illustrated here, the figure of Brahmāṇī (Pl. III A) has suffered most: but sufficient traces remain to show that she is four-headed and four-armed and is clad in a diaphanous drapery, wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and has her pendant dangling lower down her body; her mount, *haṁsa*, is carved behind her back. Kaumārī (Pl. II C), adorned with anklets, a girdle, bracelets, *ratnakuṇḍalas*, a necklace with pendant and a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure (characteristic of Kumāra), has *śakti* (spear) in her right hand and lotus in her raised left; the peacock, her mount, is seen on her right, pecking at the side of the scarf. Indrāṇī (Pl. III C) is also two-armed, her left hand holding a lotus and her right hand her characteristic weapon, *vajra* (thunderbolt); her mount, the elephant, is seen depicted behind her. Decked in sparse but elegant ornaments, the image, with its softly rounded limbs, mellow introspective expression, beautiful coiffure and roundish *prabhāvalī*, is a remarkable piece of sculpture. Chāmuṇḍā (Pl. IV C) has four arms, an emaciated body and bristling hairs containing a serpent. Besides her usual ornaments, she is decked in a garland of skulls and bones; in her right hands she holds a *kartṛi* (chopper) and a *kapāla* (skull-cup), and in her lower left hand most probably a *khaṭvāṅga*. Stylistically, these Mātṛikās, with their softened features, may be slightly earlier than the Bheraghat group and can be assigned to the first half of the seventh century.

A composite relief depicting the dancing mothers in a row, flanked by the figures of Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, now housed in the Khajuraho Museum, is illustrated on Pl. IV A. The striking feature about the images is that each alternate figure of the Mātṛikās is shown in her tender aspect, holding a child; the war-like character of the rest, without the child, is emphasized by the weapons they hold. This juxtaposition clearly brings out the two antagonistic elements, namely maternal and martial aspects, of the goddesses. Thus Brahmāṇī, with four faces (the back one not seen), holds in her left hand a *kamaṇḍalu*. Māheśvarī is without any weapon but carries a child. Next is the figure of Kaumārī holding the *śakti*. The figure of Vaishṇavī is again with a child. Vārāhī holds in her right hand what looks like a *kapāla* (or fish?) and in her left a *vajra*. The next figure, Indrāṇī, with her child, is followed by the emaciated Chāmuṇḍā with an open mouth and protruding eyes, holding a *khaṭvāṅga*. All the deities, including the flanking Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, are two-armed. The ornaments are more or less identical in all the figures, though the coiffure is different in individual cases: Vīrabhadra, Brahmāṇī and Māheśvarī have a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, Kaumārī a stylized *śikhaṇḍaka*, Vaishṇavī and Indrāṇī a *kirīṭamukuṭa*, and Chāmuṇḍā a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with skulls. There is, however, no *lāñchhana* in any case. Stylistically the slab may be a product of the ninth-tenth century.

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[1] According to the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, the images of the Mātṛikās are to be installed by those who are well versed in the *maṇḍalakrama* (*Mātṛīṇām api maṇḍalakramavidaḥ*), ed. Dvivedi, chap. 59, v. 19.

The foregoing matter sufficiently shows the existence of dancing Sapta-Mātṛikās in central India in early medieval days, but such divinities have been noted to occur elsewhere as well. Thus, in the Sarnath Collection can be seen a group of dancing Sapta-Mātṛikās, preceded and followed by the usual Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, above the lintel of a votive shrine.[1]

There is no doubt that dancing Sapta-Mātṛikās existed side by side with those of the other variety which was definitely more popular and probably with a much longer chronological range. Whether the dancing variety had any cult-significance or merely represents an iconographic feature cannot at present be determined.

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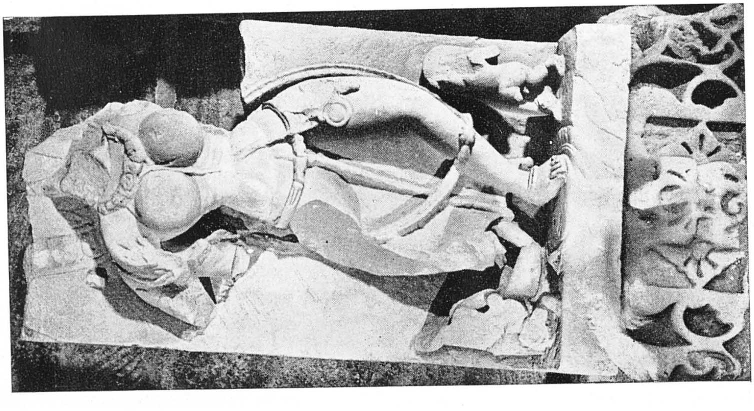
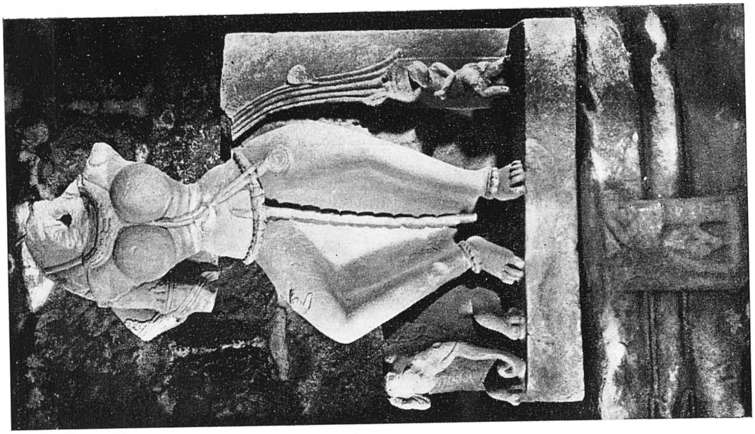
[1] Reproduced in N. K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture* (Calcutta, 1932), facing p. 176, and described in D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath* (Calcutta, 1914), p. 326, where it is said to have belonged to the Queen's College, Banaras, Collection and thus presumably hailed from some place near Banaras.

B. *Kaumārī, Bheraghat*

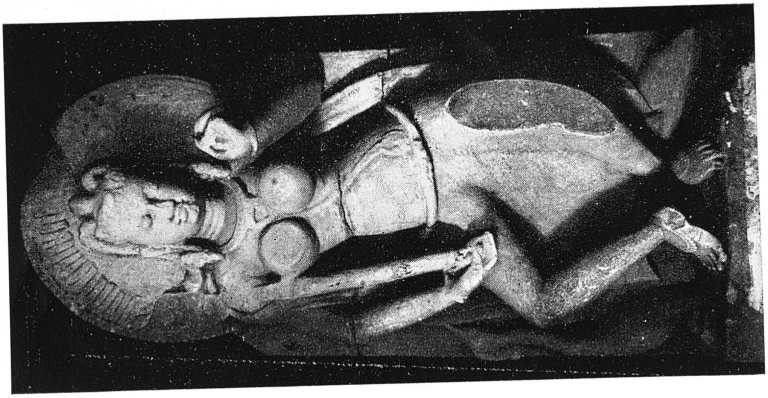
A. *Brahmāṇī (left) and Māheśvarī, Bheraghat*



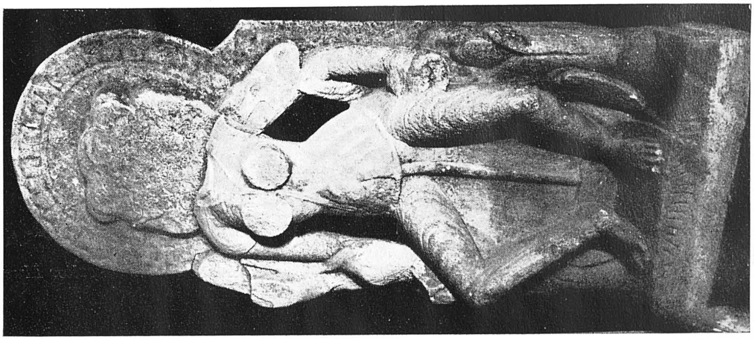
A. *Vaishṇavī, Bheraghat*



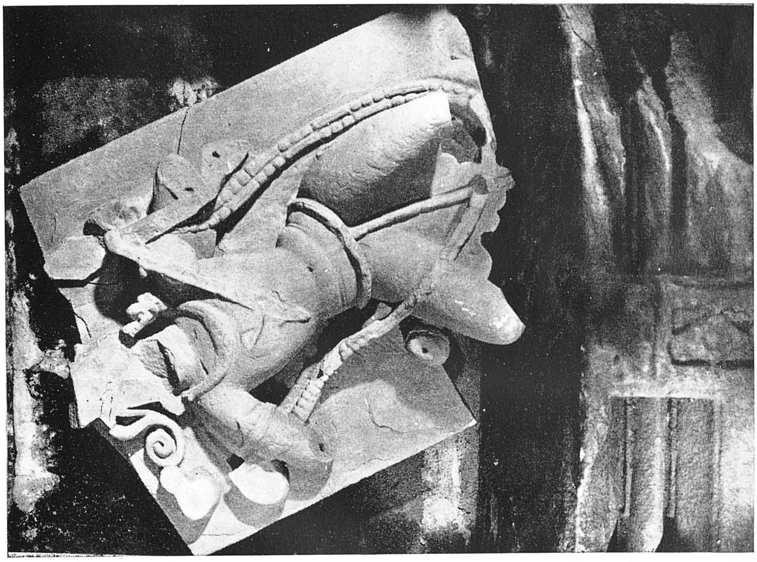
B. *Indrāṇī, Bheraghat*



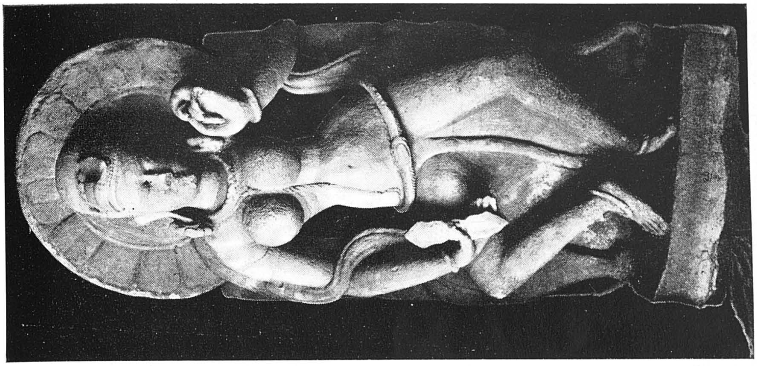
C. *Kaumārī, Kota (now in the Gwalior Museum)*



A. *Brahmāṇī, Kota (now in the Gwalior Museum)*

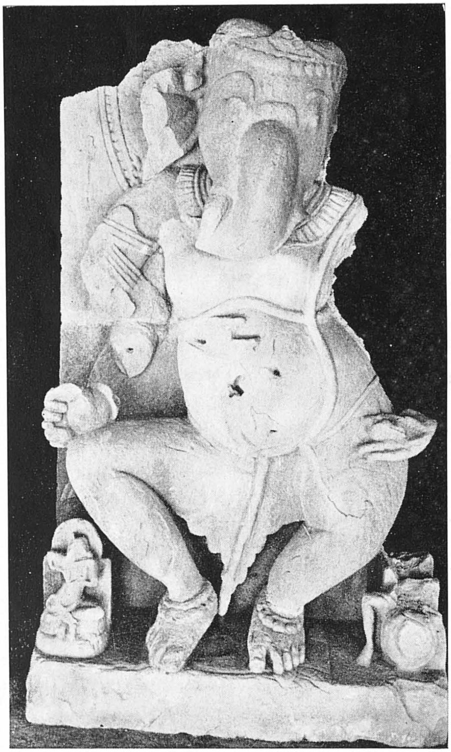


B. *Vīrabhadra, Bheraghat*



C. *Indrāṇī, Kota (now in the Gwalior Museum)*

A. *Sapta-Matṛikā panel, Khajuraho Museum*



B. *Gaṇeśa, Bheraghat*

C. *Chāmuṇḍā, Kota (now in the Gwalior Museum)*

TWO SCULPTURES OF (PĀRVATĪ AS ŚABARA-KANYĀ) FROM WESTERN INDIA.

By Dr. M. R. Majmudar

The subject-matter of this paper has an indirect bearing on the installation ceremony of Śrī Somanātha, as it deals with two fine sculptures of Lord Śiva's consort in the context of Pārvatī's penance in the Himalayan or the Vindhyā forests, generally styled as 'Kirāta Kanyā' or 'Śabara Kanyā'.

The penegyric to the glories of Śakti, the mother, protector and the benefactor of human race describes in great detail the furious fights in which the Goddess destroyed certain demons who were threatening the Gods. Here her limitless power and her terrific appearance find forcible, even ghastly expression. The mythology woven around the name of Śakti as Pārvatī, however, records homely and domestic incidents of her life also.

The ideal of womanhood as portrayed in Indian Sculpture is amply represented in the magnificent conception of Śakti-Goddess or Śaktis-Goddesses—her various manifestations. She is the embodiment of a great spiritual energy, typified in a youthful body, incarnating not physical charm but a spiritual power, the source of inspiration to her mate.

The theory of God and his Śakti has been foreshadowed in the Vedas in the conjoint worship of Heaven and Earth *('Dyāvā pṛthvyau')*. In later Śaiva mythology, this conception finds its artistic representation in Śiva's form of Ardhanārīśvara, testifying to the union of the male and the female spirit.

Along with the worship of Śakti in many forms, either beneficent or terrible, the Śāktas have developed an elaborate hierarchy of feminine figures—the Mahāvidyās, Mahāmātras, Yoginīs etc. The advocacy of the female principle has afforded an easy means for absorbing many aboriginal beliefs and wild-tribe divinities into the fringe of Hinduism.

The two sculptures introduced through this paper belong to that group of Goddesses, popularly worshipped. No iconographical texts could be traced to enable us to definitely identify the sculptures in question. The identification suggested is, therefore, tenta-

tive. However in spite of iconographical grounds their aesthetic value is unmistakable and is independent of doctrinal limitations.

The first of the two images is a broken image of Pārvatī; in tact upto the waist, with the torso in full view. It was found from the ruins of the precincts of the Somanātha temple at Prabhāsa Pāṭan, and was exhibited for the first time in October 1950 at the Archaeological Exhibition, attached to the Saurāṣṭra Itihāsa Sammelana held at Junāgaḍh.

The unusually remarkable feature of the image from Somanātha Pāṭan is the 'mukuṭa'-like head-dress, formed of leaves tied together in the style of forest-women who indulge in such fashions, with a view to alleviate the sun's heat on the head. The grains of leaves are very clearly delineated.

Some of the seals from Mohenjo-daro and terracotta figurines of the Kushān period evince a similar style. The crown of wild-olive of the Greeks and of Oak-leaves of the Druids afford some striking comparison. Sometimes lotus-petals and feathers are noticed in the head-dress of ladies.*

The third eye associated with Śiva's consort is a bit in evidence on the forehead. A frank and innocent smile lends an increasing charm to the facial expression of the benevolent Goddess.

The ears are adorned with a single rudrākṣa-bead-ring, just in the style of a Śaivita devotee; the necklace of vegetable beads falling down from and resting on the bosom is simple, as befitting a forest-woman.

The braid of hair is arranged in a knot that is visible on the side instead of at the back. The eye-brows and the lotus-shaped elongated eyes make the image very serene-looking.

The scant dress for covering the bust is perceptible through the edges of a 'cholī' or a jacket, which however leave the belly and the navel uncovered. We can say nothing about the hands and the lower extremities of the image, as they are missing.

The stone appears to be sand-stone of a hard quality, which is not much worn out. The sculpture can be assigned to the 10th Century A.D., just of the time of the early Solanki period.

The other figure of Pārvatī is, fortunately, not much damaged, and is a beautiful specimen of post-Gupta art as is in evidence in Western India. It compares very favourably with any artistic work of the period in the history of Indian Sculptural Art.

* Vide Dr. Moti Chandra's paper on "History of Costume and Toilet in India from 1st Century A.D. to 4th Century A.D." in the "Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art" for 1946.

The superb image comes from the richest store-house of sculptures of the post-Gupta period in the Iḍar State territories (North-East Gujarāt).

The figure stands in 'tri-bhaṅga' pose with the right hand resting on the hip in an elegant way, just with the feminine grace. The hand has only one 'Kaṅkaṇa' at the wrist.

The hair of the standing figure are not tied in a knot so as to be called a 'Mukuṭa', but are resting loose on the shoulders. The artist has shown the minutest details of the wavy hair.

The gentle and bewitching smile on the face makes the figure quite of a serene ('Saumya') nature as contrasted with the stern and excited face of a fighting Goddess. The third eye in the middle of the forehead is closed.

The mellow lines on the slender neck resemble similar series of lines on a Conch, thereby giving rise to the simile 'Kaṁbū-Grīvā' of the poets.

The single ornament in the neck has an aboriginal style of the necklace, called 'hāṅsḍī' in common parlance, on this side of India.

The full and healthy bust of the figure is quite in contrast to the shrunken waist, so as can be styled in the poet's language as 'Kṛśodarī'.

The muscles of the belly are realistically drawn, the depression of the navel adds a special grace to the simplicity and the classical grandeur of the female figure.

The tiger-skin is wrapped round the waist with a reef-knot by the legs of the animal, the paws of which dangle down, the face of the tiger being in full view in the front.

The skin-garment reaches as far down as the knees and falls in schematic outline, centring towards the knot; only the lower part of the legs excepting the rear part is covered by the remaining two hind legs of the animal.

The two feet are adorned with anklets (nūpuras).

The hound is by the side of the Śabara-Kanyā, ready as it were to do the bidding of its mistress.

The elegance, on the whole, of the sculpture is remarkable. It evinces most of the characteristic features of classical Gupta Art. There is the aesthetic sobriety in the treatment of the drapery, ornaments and other elements of decoration. The transparent drapery marked with schematic folds enhances the loveliness of the modulating lines of the figure, and conceals the body of the flesh. The

sparseness of ornaments imparts a graceful touch to the body which is so restful to the eyes.

But the slightly stiff treatment of the legs and the right arm show a decadance of the Imperial Gupta style. The art of the sculpture can be assigned to Circa 7th Century A.D. at the latest.

The discovery of the flourishing Gupta and post-Gupta school of sculpture in Idar State and in the valley of Sābarmatī forming the borderland of the former Baroda State territories and the discovery of a few pieces of architectural remains of a temple of the pre-Solanki (Chāpotkaṭa) period from round about Aṇhilwāḍ Pāṭan, and the chance find of a Gupta seal and several punch-marked coins from Kārvaṇ of the Lakulīśa fame, equidistant from Broach and Ḍabhoi have been a great eye-opener to many. This and similar discoveries only emphasise the necessity of further field-work in Western India.

Fig. 1. *From Somnāth.*

Fig. 2. *From Idar.*

AN IMAGE OF BALARAM FROM THE RAIPUR HILL

By

Prof. Arya Ramchandra G. Tiwari, M. A., LL. B.,
Head of the Department of History & Political Science,
The Vithalbhai Patel Mahavidyalaya, Vallabh Vidyanagar.

On a hill on the ancient Broach—Ujjain Road, an old national highway, near Bodeli (Baroda—Chhota Udaipur line of Western Rly.) was found a portion of a sandstone statue. It is at present lodged in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, Vallabh Vidyanagar, as the Exhibit No. 12. This piece 11″× 13½″ presents a long-eared (3½″) human figure only up to its neck. On its left hand side is held a plough which rests upon its left shoulder and looks like an umbrella. The two (horizontal) ends of this plough are 8″ apart. Its upper end is surmounted by two circular rings, the upper one being smaller than the lower. The right hand of this figure holds a staff whose upper part is designed with a winding circle facing front with a little inward tilt. The first three fingers of the hand holding this staff incline downwards while the first finger has a slight ascent. The thumb should be presumed on the back side of the staff. The fingers are chiselled very artistically. The finger tips are delicately bent slightly backwards. The eyes are long and closed. In the place of hair is spread out in suppressed tone the half-nut symbols, covering the head like the present-day hair-net. The object exudes an impression of being a piece of spontaneous beauty, an object of unlaboured effort.

Mutilation :—

Lip of the nose and the upper end of the left ear are mutilated. The portion below the neck is lost.

Identification :—

Balaram holding the plough in his left hand and a conventionalized or decorated piston (grinding staff) in the right.

Time :—

The cult of Balaram, as evidenced by the Kautilya (1) and the Greek historians (2) flourished as back as IV cent. B. C. That it continued till V cent. A. D. is clear from Harivamsha (3) and Nrisimha Purana (4) The serene

face, simplicity of execution, artistic anatomy and felicity of expression—all together mark this piece out as one which cannot be assigned to a period later than the first half of the Gupta Age. The artist's success in evolving superb beauty in stone with minimum strokes points to early Gupta sculptural tradition (i. e., IV-V cent. A. D.). The smallness of its ear-rings precludes its pre-Gupta origin. So the second half of IV cent. A. D. to the first half of V cent. A. D. can be conveniently fixed for it. A brick of Maurya period is also found form that place. It is also collected in the Museum.*

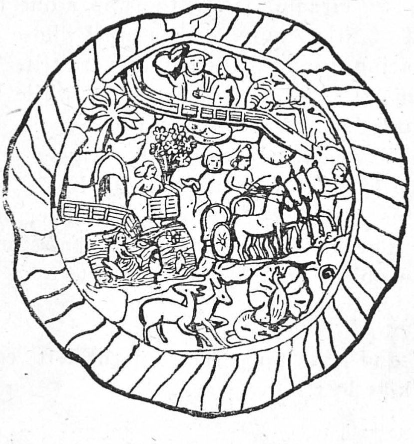
Footnotes

(1) Kautilya: Arthashastra (Shama Shastri Tr.), BK. XIV, Ch. 3.

(2) Dynoseus of the Greeks has been identified as Balaram by the historians.

(3) See Tiwari, A. R. G., Ram and Ramayana-relief in Kailash Temple, Ellora-Chart of Incarnations of Vishnu (to be published in the Journal of Oriental Research Institute, Baroda.)

(4) Hazara: A. B. O. R., XXVI (1945), p. 44.



Village life in India during Mauryan times.
(A terracotta medallion from Bhita.)

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*The Editor does not agree at all with the learned author of the paper in regard to his identification of this image and its dating. The paper is being published here in the form it was submitted to the Editor. Views of other experts are welcomed.

(7)

FOUR BUDDHIST IMAGES IN THE BARODA MUSEUM.

Dr. B. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D.,

Baroda.

The object of this short paper is to offer an identification of four important and rare copper gilt images now preserved in the Baroda Museum. Out of these four, three appear to be Newari in origin, while the fourth is distinctly Tibetan. They are not all very ancient, but appear to be about three hundred years old, except the fourth one, which is of a very recent date. The execution and workmanship of the first three are of a superior order, while the fourth has no artistic merit. But all the four are rare when viewed from the point of iconography. Let us take up the images one after another :

The first is a male image sitting in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude with four arms; two of which are joined against the breast in forming what is called the Añjali Mudrā, while the other two hands carry the rosary in the right and a lotus in the left. The whole image is gracefully but delicately ornamented. The eyes are half-closed in token of meditation and the face displays a peaceful and dignified appearance.

For the identification let us turn to the *Sādhanamālā*, a compendium of three hundred and twelve Sādhanās, of which the earliest MS. bears a Newari date which corresponds to A.D. 1165. On page 29 of the first volume published in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* we meet with a description which corresponds in all respects with the image under discussion.

There we read :—वज्रपर्यङ्कं शशिप्रभं कुन्देन्दुवर्णमुज्ज्वलं जटामुकुटधरं शान्तं अमिताशकृतशेखरं व्याघ्रचर्मनिवसनं चतुर्भुजं नानालङ्कारभूषितं दक्षिणे करे अक्षमालाधरं वामकरे पद्ममणिविभूषितं द्वौ हस्तौ संयुक्तौ सर्वराजेन्द्रमुद्रा हृदि संस्थितं ......

This is the description given for Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara, who is also described in the *Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha.*[1] As the two descriptions correspond with each other, the identification may be taken as certain. In the present image however the crest of Amitābha on the head is absent. Presence of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha on the crown denotes only that the principal figure belongs to the family of Amitābha and is an emanation of him. But here instead of the small image of Amitābha a lotus is shown on the crown. The lotus, of course, represents Amitābha as it is the recognition symbol of this particular Dhyāni Buddha.[2]

The second image represents also a young male figure sitting in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude. He is two-armed and bedecked in all sorts of ornaments with a jewelled tiara, elaborate ear ornaments, a torque and a garland. His two hands supporting a vessel are joined together and placed on the lap in Samādhi. The execution and workmanship of this image is of a very superior order and represents a specimen of the first class Newari art.

Now for the identification of this image we may again turn to the same source where (on page 129) we find a description which is couched in the following words :—

द्विभुजैकमुखं सितं वज्रपर्यङ्कोपरि समाधिमुद्राहस्तमशेषकुमाराभरणभूषितं पञ्चचीरकं......

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[1] Satyavrata Samasrami's edition, p. 74.

[2] Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara is generally represented with his two companions, Maṇidhara and Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahārvidyā. All the images of Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara, so far discovered in India, for instance, the Indian Museum, Sārnāth and Birbhum images show the two companions above mentioned. In the Birbhum image the crest of Amitābha is clearly shown. See *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 33 ff., and Plate XVIII.

Vajrarāga Mañjuśrī

When we compare this description with the figure in question, we find that they correspond. I hunted many a museum for an image of this deity who is variously known as Vāk, Vajra-rāga Mañjuśrī and Dharmaśaṅkhasamādhi, but as I could not get hold of one I had to be satisfied with a recent drawing of a Newari artist for insertion in my publication, entitled *The Indian Buddhist Iconography.*[1] This image is therefore unique from the view-point of iconography. The *Sādhana* however is silent about the bowl carried by the god, but it is customary with the artists to put in a bowl whenever they have to represent a God in the Samādhi Mudrā. Thus we find a bowl in all images of the Dhyāni Buddhas except Vairocana, to avoid one or two of the hands remaining empty—a disagreeable sight to many artists.[2]

The third image represents a fierce god with a protruding tongue, canine teeth, blood-shot eyes, hair rising upwards in the shape of a flame, and with a garland of several heads sewn together by means of human intestines. The god bears the six Mudrās[3]—Kaṇṭhikā (torque), Rucaka (bangles), Ratna (jewels), Mekhalā (girdle), Bhasma (ashes) and Sūtra (sacred thread in the form of the garland of heads)—all prepared from human bones, and stands in the Ardhaparyaṅka and in a dancing attitude.[4] He is four-armed and carries in his two principal hands the Kartri (knife) and the Kapāla (bowl) while the other two show the Ḍamaru (small drum) in the right and the Triśūla (trident) in the left.

From the description it can be easily understood that this Bodhisattva belongs to the family of the Dhyāni Buddha

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[1] Plate XIII C.

[2] B. Bhattacharyya: *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Plates VII, VIII and IX A.

[3] For the explanation of the six Mudrās, see *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Glossary, p. 196.

[4] It is one of the Āsanas or mystic attitudes, peculiar to Buddhist Tāntrism. The right leg is placed on a pedestal or a lotus or a corpse while the left leg is placed on the right thigh.

Akṣobhya, all of whose emanations or most of them are fierce in character with protruding tongue, canine teeth, garland of heads and hair rising upwards in the shape of a flame of fire. Compare, for instance, the figure of Caṇḍaroṣaṇa, Heruka, Vajraḍāka, Mahāmāyā, Hayagrīva, Yamāri, Mahācīnatārā, Jāṅguli, Ekajaṭa, Parṇaśabari, Vajracarcikā and many others who are all emanations of Akṣobhya and you will find all of them to be of fearful appearance.[1]

For the identification of the image under discussion when we again have recourse to the same source, we find on page 501 a Sādhanā for worshipping a god named Buddhakapāla whose description is given in the following words :—
नीलवर्णो महावपुः अस्थ्याभरणमर्द्धपर्यङ्कनृत्यस्थं मुण्डमालाविभूषितं मुकुटे अक्षोभ्यधारिणम् एकवक्त्रं चतुर्भुजं वामे खट्वाङ्गकपालं दक्षिणे कर्त्रिंडमरुकं......

Buddhakapāla is the four-armed variety of the famous Vajrayāna god Heruka, to whom several Tantras are ascribed. The images of Buddhakapāla are generally represented in Yab yum in the embrace of his śakti Citrasenā,[2] and thus the present image has great iconographic value, as images of this single type are extremely rare.

But it is not so with the fourth image, which represents a god apparently belonging to the family of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya, as this image also shows all the peculiarities of form as those of Buddhakapāla. But this god is two-armed carrying the Vajra in the right hand and Kapāla in the left hand while a Khaṭvāṅga (magic stick) rests against his left shoulder. He stands in a dancing attitude in *Ardhaparyaṅka* on a corpse lying on its breast.

This image of course represents Heruka because the description[3] of Heruka given in the *Sādhanamālā* exactly

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[1] *Indian Buddhist Iconography*: Emanations of Akṣobhya, Chapters V and VI and the Plates.

[2] Ibid., p. 63, and Plate XXV B.

[3] No. 244, p. 473.

Buddhakapāla

Heruka

Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara

A UNIQUE METAL IMAGE OF SUN FROM GUJARAT

BY

Shri KANAIYALAL B. DAVE, Patan (North Gujarat)

A unique metal image was discovered from a small village in the Patan Taluka of the Mehsana District by my esteemed friend Amratlal Pandit. The image is now in the private collection of Shri Babubhai Modi, at Bombay.

The image is sitting in Ukkuḍīyāsana on the middle of a Lotus resting on a square seat. It is wearing a Chalukya Kirīṭa Crown and circular earrings. It puts on a Necklace, and two small string-like lines pass over its chest. In the centre of the chest is the Śrīvatsa symbol. Its arms and legs are bedecked with ornaments. An Uttarīya is suggested by a broad ribbon passing over his shoulders and under the arms.

The image carries a Lotus staff in his left hand and a fruit in his right hand. On either side of the feet a female figure is represented. A halo is marked behind this divinity. On the halo, five images seated in Padmāsana occur interspersed by a diamond motif. Directly over the crown, on the *halo*, may perhaps be a pot or a Kumbha.

Behind this figure another female figure of a similar size is represented. It has a Lotus staff in the left hand and shows Varada-Mudrā by the right. It is sitting in the same pose as the front figure.

The square seat has eight Dwārapālas placed in four directions, with a fruit in one hand and a staff in the other, while on each corner a Kīrtimukha is carved.

On the eight petals of the lotus, resting on the square seat is represented a male with a staff in one hand and a fruit in the other. Behind the male figure seats a female figure with a lotus staff and a Varada-Mudrā. Thus they hold *similar tools* as those of the principle figures.

The identification of this image is rather problematic. The image apparently appears to be that of the Sun God. The work Vāstu Vidyā Dīpārṇava, while describing the Ādityas, mentions that Sūrya the 10th Āditya holds a fruit and a staff in his right and left hands respectively.[1]

The female figure showing the Varada-Mudrā and holding the staff is probably Sūryāṇī as she is known to carry a fruit and staff or Varada-Mudrā. The

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[1] प्रथमं फलहस्तं तु वामे दण्डहस्तकं।
दशमं तु भवेन्नाम सूर्यदेवं विधीयते ॥ १० ॥ वास्तुविद्यादीपार्णव अध्याय ?

female figures near the feet of the Sun God are probably Rājñī and Nikṣubhā, and are seen in all the Sun images found out from Gujarat.

The Sun images from Modhera, Patan and Ajmer, suggest that Aświns are placed near the head, and the Goddesses Uṣā and Pratyūṣā carrying bows and arrows occupy the place near the loins of the Gods. The images on the Parikara are imagined to be the figures of Uṣā, Pratyūṣā, or the Aśvin-Gods or the two wives of the Sun God *viz.* Sūvarcā and Chāyā. But as these images are highly worn out, nothing can be definitely said. Rūpamaṇḍana[2] and Rūpāvatāra[3] refer to Sūryāyatana or the temple of the sun. Both these works mention that there should be two Gate-keepers holding different instruments on four gates. All the Gate-Keepers around the figure hold the same instruments, as the Sun God, as in the two works mentioned above. But the sixteen images on the lotus petals are a unique feature of this image as no text-book describes the representations of such figures.

Besides the image already discussed another metal image of Rannādevī, was also acquired by Shri Amratlal Pandit. It is a female figure 10″—12″ high, holding a lotus and *a fruit* in her left and right hands respectively. It has a beautiful Parikara and two small images of maid-servants standing on either side of the main figure.

On the back of this image runs an inscription in Sanskrit, suggesting that this image of Rannādevī, the wife of Sambāditya was made by a lady Gau by name, after fasting for a month. It is dated Saṁvat 1420 (1364 A. D.), C'aitra Sudi. [4]

Both these images with their stiff form heavy expression less face, and rather crude ornaments represent the decadant survival of the Chalukya art in the later part of the 14th century A. D.

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[2] रूपमंडन. अ. ४. verses. 41 to 46

[3] रूपावतार. अ. २. verses. 26 to 30

[4] संवत् १४२० वर्षे चैत्र सुदी ६ठ रवौ श्री मासोपवासव्रतिन्या बाइ गाउ इति नाम्ना देवश्री सांबादित्यस्य देवीश्री रन्नादेवी पुण्यश्रेयसे कारिता ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

Plate 2. Three-headed Sūrya-nārāyaṇa image from Deliwal, N. Gujerat. *c.* 11th cent. A.D.

Plate 1. Three-headed Vishnu image from Mathurā
c. 5th cent. A.D. Courtesy : Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

A close-up of the image of sun

An image of Rannadevi

Unique image of Sun

A SCULPTURE OF RIVER-GODDESS NARMADĀ.

By

Dr. M. R. Majmudār

The Sculpture of River-Goddess Narmadā, introduced through this paper is unique in as much as it is found on a bracket in the gateway at Ḍabhoi or the ancient Darbhāvatī of the Chaulukyan period, instead of being on the door-frame of a temple as usual during the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods of Indian Sculpture and Architecture.

The loose sculpture of this bracket is now preserved in the Baroda Museum Sculpture Gallery, the photograph of which is being published through the courtesy of Dr. H. Goetz, the Director of the Museum.

Ancient Darbhāvatī is the same as the modern Ḍabhoi 15 miles from the river Narmadā at Chāndod, 40 miles north-east of Broach and 20 miles south-east of Baroda. It was during the reign of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha (1094-1143) that Darbhāvatī was converted into a frontier fortress. The style of architecture as well as the elaborate richness of sculpture fully bear out the tradition that the temple of Rudramahālaya and the forts of Jinjhuwāḍā and Darbhāvatī were all built at the same time. The gates of the city-walls of Ḍabhoi are now severely damaged. Their original grandeur and magnificence have now altogether disappeared.

When once raised to the position of the frontier-fortress of a mighty kingdom, Darbhāvatī rapidly grew in importance. It is mentioned as one of the most important cities of Gujarāt in the Girnār Jaina inscription of Saṁvat 1288:

"श्री तेजःपालेन श्री शत्रुंजयार्बदाचलप्रभृतिमहातीर्थेषु श्रीमदणहिलपुरभृगुपुरस्तंभनकपुरस्तंभतीर्थदर्भवतीधवलक्कप्रमुखेषु...... कोटिशः अभिनवधर्मस्थानानि प्रभूततीर्थोद्धाराश्च कारिताः।"

Soon after the fall of Aṇahilapaṭṭana in 1300, Darbhāvatī fell before the onrushing tide of the Muhammadan invasion. Its temples were, as usual, destroyed.

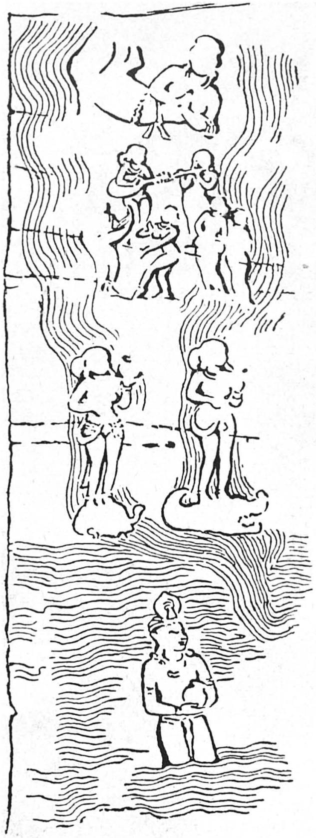
Indian Sculpture in its best periods is never a mere embellishment but an indivisible part of an architectural scheme, and yet a part which never loses its individuality as pure sculpture of the highest perfection. Apart from architecture, it exists in the form of statues. It very probably arose to satisfy man's first artistic craving, made manifest first as a decorative art, developing later in giving a concrete form to ideas about God and His manifestations.

conception of "Ṛta" in the earlier Ṛgvedic hymns, has different aspects, 'cosmic', 'ethical' and 'sacrificial'. In fact, at one time, "Ṛta" appeared to be the one Principle that could have developed into the highest 'philosophical reality'; but on account of the increasing importance of the sacrificial performances, on the one hand and philosophical speculations round some other abstract conceptions on the other, that the importance of "Ṛta", came to be forgotten. From the variety of epithets, derived from "Ṛta", applied to the gods as "ṛtaprajāta", ṛtajña", ṛtadyumnā", "ṛtapeśaḥ", "ṛtāvānaḥ" "ṛtāvṛdhaḥ" etc., it is obvious that at one stage, it was being considered as the all-pervading and the all-supporting principle. In the later days however, only the sacrificial aspect of the Ṛta seems to have survived, its all-wide importance, being usurped by other arrivals in the field. It is in this way that perhaps Ṛta is suggested at X.121.2, when Hiraṇyagarbha is ascribed all-powerfulness (ātmadāḥ baladāḥ) etc., and his laws (praśiṣaḥ) are said to be observed by the gods, (upāsate devāḥ v.2). At X.190.1 however Ṛta and Satya are said to be born from the 'tapas' and here the sacrificial aspect of the Ṛta is clearly in the mind of the poet.

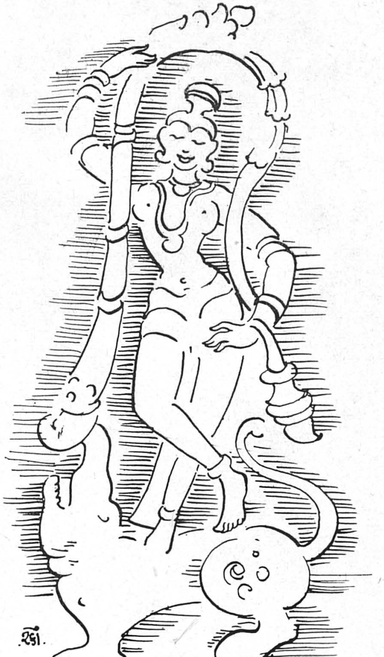
The above discussion will point out that the highest philosophical discussions in the Ṛgveda have been given expression through the medium of the sacrificial conceptions.

This further throws light on the growth of the idea of sacrifice in the days of the Ṛgveda; A closer scrutiny of the hymn of the Ṛgveda will reveal the various stages by which the idea of sacrifice has grown; but one thing is certain, viz., the discussions of highest philosophical importance could not have been attempted through the metaphor of sacrifice, unless the sacrifice had come to occupy a very obviously significant place in the life of the people in those days. In fact the reference to the four castes in the Puruṣa Sūkta, (X.90.12), suggests that the sacrificial performances had become sufficiently elaborate to need the attention of a special class of people, a conjecture which is further substantiated by the elaborate ritual of the Brāhmaṇa period, which followed it. It is significant however that only the broad features of the sacrificial performances like 'barhiḥ' (X.90.7), 'ājya' (X.90.6), 'idhma' (X.90.6) (paridhi) (X.90.15, X.130.3) are mentioned in the philosophical hymns discussed above. Other minor details, even if known to the poets, have not been utilised, as the poets were not elaborating the idea of sacrifice but the philosophical concepts and as such, sacrificial conceptions and terminology have been taken advantage of only to elucidate the philosophical ideas, obviously because the people could appreciate the abstract philosophical ideas better in terms of sacrifice, which they had come to know so well and which had come to occupy a very significant place in their life by that time.

River-goddess Narmadā, from Ḍabhoi.



Confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā.



Tree-and-Creeper motif with Gaṅgā on makara.

Tree-and-Creeper motif with Gaṅgā on makara.

The artist gives the whole imaginative form, some concrete expression; and through that concrete expression, the people whose racial experience is embodied in the idea, at once realise the fulness and intimacy of the experience that motif embodies. The image or form, thus becomes a symbol for the people and soon develops into a popular design what is known as "art-motif".

Mountains, and especially rivers, are holy; and of course are deified. Primitive belief generally deifies rivers. But in the great river-hymn in the Ṛg-veda, there is probably as much pure poetry as prayer. The Vedic poet half believed in the rivers' divinity, and sings how they 'rust forth like armies'.

Āpah (the waters) are celestial, as well as flowing in channels, and have the Sea for their goal. The waters cleanse and purify; these goddesses bear away defilement; the worshipper comes up out of them pure and cleansed. They are even invoked to cleanse from moral guilt, the sins of violence, cursing and lying. They are remedial, bestowing remedies and long life; for, all remedies,—immortality and healing are combined in them. As mothers, they mix milk with honey.

Besides the divine Waters, deified Rivers occupy a not unimportant position in the Ṛg-veda. The whole of one hymn (10,75) celebrates the Siṅdhu or Indus, in which several of its tributaries are invoked besides other streams. The Sarasvatī is, however, more greatly celebrated than any other river. The connection of the Goddess with the river is in the ṚV. always present to the minds of the poets. Sarasvatī, Sarayū and Siṅdhu are invoked as great streams (10,64) and elsewhere (10,75) Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śutudru, Paruśṇī and many others (altogether 21) are invoked.

Sarasvatī, flows with fertile flood, a stream surpassing all other waters in greatness; she alone among rivers appeared pure, flowing from the mountains, from the celestial ocean.

She is the best of mothers, of rivers and of goddesses. She is invoked to descend from the sky, from the great mountain. This perhaps alludes to the notion of a celestial origin, like that of Gaṅgā in post-Vedic mythology.

She herself is a purifier; she is besought to come 'swelling with streams'; and along with the waters, the bestowers of wealth, progeny and immortality, to great vitality. She bestows vitality and off-spring, wealth, plenty and nourishment, and several times receives the epithet 'Subhagā' (bountiful). She stimulates, directs and prospers the devotions of her worshippers.

Sarasvatī, originally, perhaps meant a mighty stream, probably the Indus ('Sarasvatī' being the sacred and 'Siṅdhu' the secular name); but that it occasionally designates the small stream in

Madhyadeśa, to which both its name and its sacred character were, in later times, transferred.[1]

The anthropomorphic concept of River Goddesses *(nadī-devatās)* on their vehicles, the earliest examples of which occur at Amarāvatī, has long continued to be a motif of importance and even in the late mediaeval *'Gopura'* doorways of South Indian temples are found flanking figures of a woman on *makara* holding a decorative creeper running the whole length of the jamb entwining circular panels all the way along. These figures are a combination of Nadī-devatā and Vanadevatā concepts or more strictly Gaṅgā and Śālabhañjikā. (Fig. 1).

The River Goddesses became such a popular motif that they flanked all the gateways of the Gupta temples. Earlier, as shown by Dr. Jayaswāl, the motif was a feature in the temples of the Bhāraśaivas and the Vākāṭakas, great devotees of Śiva. The Prayāgakśetra assumed an importance altogether unknown in Sculpture before Kālidāsa; and his description in Raghuvaṁśa, (*Sarga* 13, Verses 54-58) found a sculptural interpretation of which the best examples are at Gwālior (रघु, सर्ग १३, श्लोक ५७) and Udayagiri. (Fig. 2). The verses are echoed in the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā flanking the doorway, through the flower-garland in their hands and the swans that flutter round their halos whose contour appears like that of clouds.

The two flanking scenes are of unusual significence, representing the birth of the twin sisters Gaṅgā and Yamunā, their confluence at Prayāga and the final merging into the ocean, (Cf. रघु, XIII, 58). The whole scene is permeated with a lyrical feeling, and probably conveys an ideal representation of the Madhya Deśa—middle country, which was the heart of the culture empire founded by the Guptas. Its symbols were the twin river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, standing on their respective vehicles, the *makara* and the turtle. (Fig. 3).

It is only in Gupta art as in literature of this period that the two rivers make their appearance for the first time in the scheme of temple-architecture and we cannot but infer that Kālidāsa making a pointed reference to them as attendants of the temple deity is refering to a principal feature of contemporary art (मूर्ते च गंगा यमुने तदानीं । सचामरे देवमसेविषाताम् ।।कुमार, ७, ४२)[2]. "The goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā assumed visible forms and with *chauris* in their hands took

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1. See, 'Vedic Mythology' by A. A. Macdonell (1897: Strassburg).
2. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, *Adh.* 51, Verses 6, 7 also support the description:—

"भागे तु दक्षिणे गंगा मकरस्था सचामरा।
देवी पद्मकरा कार्या चंद्रगौरी वरानना ।।६।।
वामे तु यमुना कार्या कूर्मसंस्था सचामरा।
नीलोत्पलकरा सौम्या नीलनीरज सन्निभा ।। ७ ।।

up positions as attendants of the great god". This characteristic feature is illustrated most artistically on the doorway of the Devagarh temple. Detached images of the two river-goddesses also occur in this period.

Figures of the goddess Gaṅgā are found at Kadvār, three miles from Somanāth Paṭṭan on the doorframe, and on the old Sūrya temple at Thān in Kāṭhiāwār.[3] These are rarely found in Chaulukyan temples.

A sure sign of the great age of the temple at Kadvār, are the images of the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, standing one upon either side of the shrine doorway, at the bottom; but they have been defaced almost beyond recognition. At Thān, Gaṅgā stands in samabhaṅga pose on a *makara,* which is much conventionalized, has 4 hands; now only the stumps remain; the face is completely disfigured. On either side is a female figure in *tribhaṅga,* but what they hold is not clear. The Thān figure of Gaṅgā is to be contrasted with the Gupta figures at Tigowa and Kharod in the C.P. In the latter, in both cases the figure has two hands only, and the figures do not stand so erect as at Thān.

It is known from Skanda Purāṇa that an identity was established of Narmadā with Gaṅgā.The boon that was sought by the stream that flowed from the perspiration caused to Rudra from severe austerities was that, the new stream should have the Sanctity-fame of of the Ganges of the north and should be better known as the Dakśiṇa Gaṅgā.'[4]

The three rivers—the Sarasvatī, the Gaṅgā and the Narmadā are mentioned in Purāṇas to have been respectively the three forms of the three *guṇas* of the Trinity, found as emanating from one Lord Śiva.[5]

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3. See, Cousins: 'The Somanāth' p. 35 (1931).

4. The river is described as under:—

"उत्तरे जाह्नवीदेशे महापातकनाशिनी ।
भवामि दक्षिणे मार्गे यद्येवं सुरपूजिता ।।
स्वर्गादागम्य गंगेति यथा ख्याता क्षितौ विभो ।
तथा **दक्षिणगंगेति** भवेयं त्रिदशेश्वर ।। "
स्कन्दपुराणे, अवन्तीखंडे, रेवाखंडे अ. ४,

5. "एका मूर्ति महेशस्य कारणांतरमागता ।
एतेषां तु पृथग्भावं ये कुर्वंति सुमोहिताः ।।
तेषां धर्मे कुतः सिद्धिर्जायते पापकर्मिणाम् ।
एवमेता महानद्यस्तिस्त्रो रुद्रसभुद्भवाः ।।
एका एव त्रिधा भूता गंगा रेवा सरस्वती ।
गंगा तु वैष्णवी मूर्ति सर्वपापप्रणाशिनी ।।
रुद्रदेवसमुद्भूता नर्मदा चैवमेव तु ।
ब्राह्मी सरस्वती मूर्तिस्त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुता ।।

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, mostly a product of the Gupta period, lays down *(Adh.* 51, *śl.* 6, 7) that on the sides of the four-armed Varuṇa, images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā should be placed: Yamunā to the left and Gaṅgā to the right. Then it describes the form, the symbol and the vehicles of the two River-Goddesses. On the right should be designed Gaṅgā, seated on a crocodile, holding a lotus in one hand and a chauri in the other, the face being beauteous white like the moon; on the left should be Yamunā, seated on a turtle, holding a chauri in one hand and a night-lotus in the other, with a serene face resembling a black lotus.[6]

The iconography of Naramadā, given in a *dhyāna* from the Skanda Purāṇa, Revākhaṇḍa, *Adh.* 3, verse 35 is as under:—

"श्यामवर्णा महादेवी सर्वाभरणभूषिता।
मकरासनमारूढा शिवस्याग्रे व्यवस्थिता॥"

The symbol or the vehicle of the two rivers Gaṅgā and Revā are thus identical, viz. the *makara,* the crocodile: because it is stated further that, Narmadā is also known as the Gaṅgā of the South—दक्षिणगंगाः—

"एवं सा दक्षिणगंगा महापातकनाशिनी।
उत्तरे जाह्नवी देशे पुण्या त्वं दक्षिणे शुभा॥"
—रेवाखंड, ३."

In the "Chosaṭ Jogini" temple at Bheḍā-Ghāṭ, on the river Narmadā, over and above the images of 64 Yoginis, images of Śaktis, Kālikā, Śiva and Gaṇeśa and two-armed seated images of four *nadīdevatās* (river goddesses), with their *vāhanas* shown on the pedestal, are also met with: the Sarasvatī (called 'Ūhā' with the *vāhana* of a *mayūra,* No. 26), the Gaṅgā (called 'Jānhavī', with the *vāhana* of the *makara,* No. 28); the Narmadā (called 'Rikshiṇī', because she rises from the Riksha mountain, and has the *makara vāhana,* No. 35) and the Yamunā (with the *vāhana* of a *Kacchapa,* No. 68). The sculpture of the figures is remarkable.

A female figure at Tewār (the ancient Tripura or Tripurī) standing on a crocodile is called Narmadā Mātā. This small statue of the four-armed goddess with a *makara-vāhana* is worshipped. It has

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यथा गंगा तथा रेवा तथा चैव सरस्वती।
समं पुण्यफलं प्रोक्तं स्नानदर्शनचिंतनैः॥"
—स्कन्दपुराण, रेवा, अ. २३

6. Also see '*Viṣṇudharmottara,*" III *Adh.* 52, Śl. 19, 20:—

Of course, the order of vehicles seems to have been transposed, here; how, one cannot say.

"जाया तु यमुना ज्ञेया सिद्धि भगीरथी द्विज।
वीर्यकालौ विनिर्दिष्टौ तथा मकरकच्छपौ॥ १९॥
स्वर्गगंगाकरे पद्मं वृद्धयामुनमुत्पलम्॥ २०॥"

been suggested that it is probably a figure of Gaṅgā, from one of the old temples near by.[7]

Now to turn to the image of Narmadā on the bracket of the fort-gate at Darbhāvatī. (Fig. 5). The sculptural object has also four arms and is mounted on a *makara,* like the Thān image and the Tewār image referred to above. The form of the *makara* is, however, conventionalized. It is a mixed form. The wide open jaw of the animal is so common in the door-frames, known as the *makara-toraṇa* in texts on Indian Architecture.

Out of the four hands, the upper right hand is seen to hold the conventional *kuṁbha.* It is not possible to make any surmise regarding objects held in the remaining hands, as only stumps are left. It is, however, an interesting image of the River-Goddess Narmadā. The idea prompting the sculptor of the fort-gate of Darbhāvatī to use the symbol of the *nadī-devatā,* on a bracket in the fort-wall, must be the proximity of the river Narmadā also called 'Revā', which is hardly 15 miles from the ancient city of Ḍabhoi.

Another broken torso of a female figure is obtained from the same place which has a clear indication of a fish as the *vāhana.* What could it be?[8]

7. See, Cunningham: Archaeological Survey of India: Reports: Vol. IX. Central Provinces: (for years 1873 to 75) (1879).

8. My thanks are due to Dr. Vāsudeva Śaraṇa Agrawāla, Director, Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi, for important references.

GURUDEV TAGORE—A TRIBUTE

BY

THE HON'BLE SHRI CHINTAMAN D. DESHMUKH

This piece of poetry on the great poet flows from an extraordinary pen. Few would have suspected the Finance Minister to the Government of India of it. Recently the newspapers flashed the statement that the Finance Minister supported his statements in the Parliament by pieces of Marathi and Sanskrit poetry '*bravely delivered*'. But the Hon'ble C. D. Deshmukh is well-known to his close acquaintances as an eminent scholar of both Sanskrit and Marathi. The chaste pieces of poetry in which he corresponds with his friends are worthy of a Māgha and it is not seldom that these can be found treasured by them as priceless. The following piece was scooped by the Bhavan's President when he was his colleague in the Cabinet and we have great pleasure in including it here.

—Editors.

राज्ञोऽन्तिकं रिक्तकरो न यायात्
पुरो गुरूणां न विदायशून्यः।
न मन्दिरं विस्मृतगन्धमाल्यो
न बन्धुपार्श्वं च
(बन्धुर्न दृश्यश्च) विनोपहारम् ॥१॥

राजा बृहद्वाङ्मयसंसृतेस्त्वं।
रिताशयानाम्
गुरुर्नरोद्धार (विवर्धिषूणाम्)
तथे
(नन्वी)श्वरो भारतभावनानां
सर्वस्य बन्धुर्वसुधाकुटुम्बः॥ २॥

उपस्थितोऽहं तव दर्शना(य) र्थं
कवीश किं ते गुरु कल्पयेऽर्घ्यम्।
मन्दप्रबोधस्तमसावृतौजा
रवीन्द्र मृत्पात्र इव प्रदीपः॥ ३॥

स्मरामि रामाय तु वन्यरामा
दन्तव्रणाङ्कानि ददौ फलानि।
य चा
मेघा(र्थम)र्घ्यं कुटजप्रसूनै,
श्चकल्प यक्षः
(यक्षेण क्लृप्तं) कृपणे विवासे॥ ४॥

पूगीफलं मान्यमवित्त दत्तं
र्थंतिथ्यां
भवेत् कदाचिद्विजया(दशम्याम्)।
माखि
शम्याश्च चामीकर(रूपि)पत्रं
दानार्धमाप्तुर्गणनावलम्बि॥ ५॥